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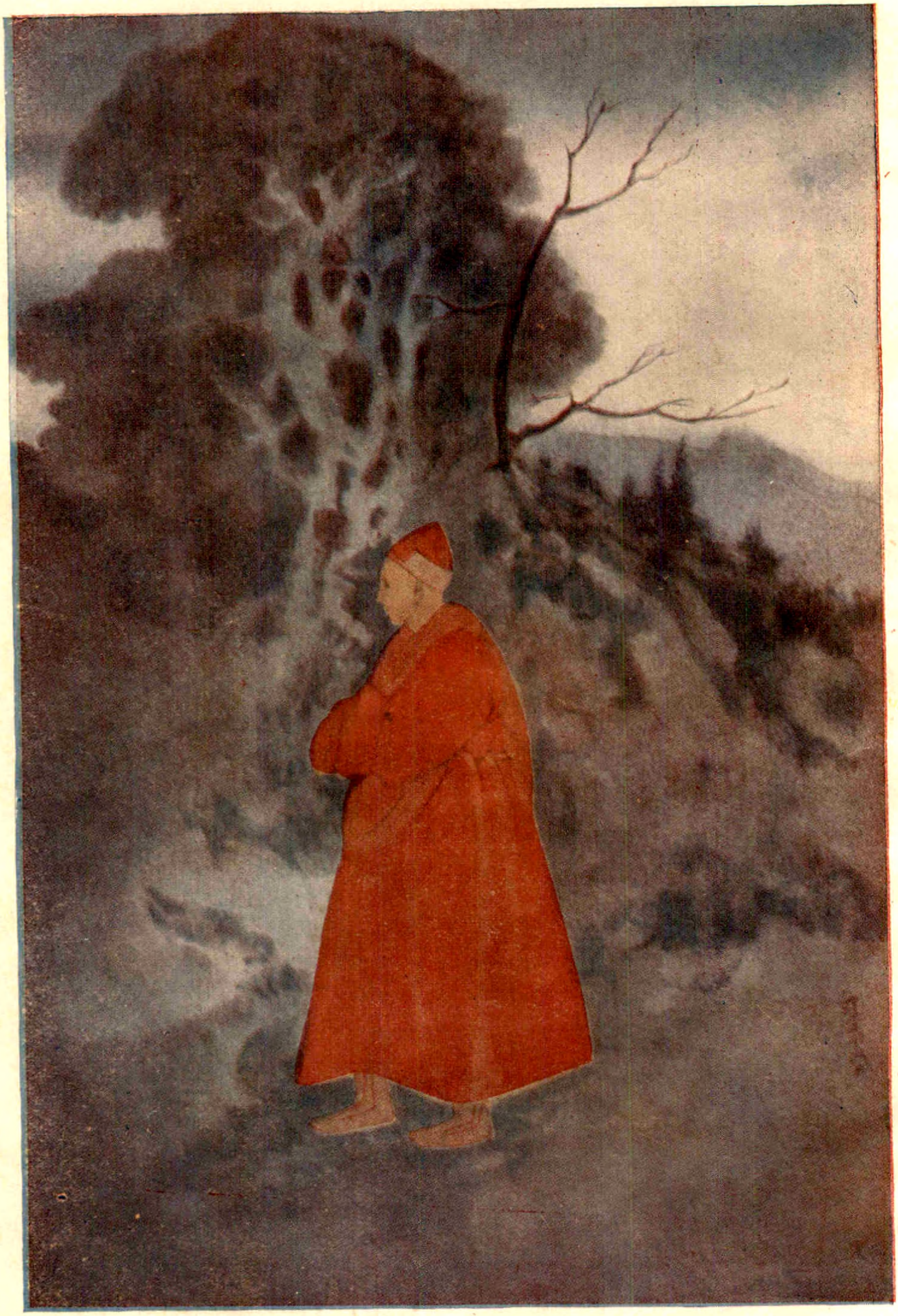

MONARCH OF THE MOUNTAIN

Artist—Prof. Abanindranath Tagore, D.Lit.]

[illegible]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1926

DANTE'S BUST

Characters: DANTE AND A SCULPTOR

[SCENE: *Late evening, in a large, shadowy studio in which there are many unfinished wax models and figures shrouded in moist cottons and linens; all save one, which, completed, has been on exhibition in finished form during the evening. Over this the Sculptor is pulling a fresh, dry cloth. A rap on the door startles him.*]

SCULPTOR

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'Tis strange that someone knocks at this late hour.
Who can it be? The clock has long since struck
The note of midnight. All my guests have gone
These many hours. But—come in, I say! Come in!

DANTE

(*Entering softly, heavily hooded.*)

You are awake! Good! I feared you'd be
Asleep, lost in dreams upon your silken couch,
Your body dead to action.

SCULPTOR

Not I asleep!

* * *

But, pardon, Sir, your presence here is puzzling.
Your face is hid, your voice is strange—do I,
Have I the honor—may I ask?

DANTE

You ask
My name and whence I came? Has mem'ry then
Forsaken you? Among your bidden guests
To-night was one who did not come and yet
You knelt in pray'r before your work was done
To ask that one to be your guest. In truth,
You were expecting me!

SCULPTOR

Expecting—you?

(*Dante removes the hood about his face as the Sculptor gazes in amazement.*)

Dante! You! Yes, I'd hoped you'd come, but why
Are you so late? The people and the crowds
Have long since scattered.

DANTE

I did not come for them.
I had intended coming sooner but
I had no wish to see the flatterers,
To gaze upon their fawning on this night
Of your unveiling. I could not come to frown
On their idolatry and spoil your moment
Of success.

SCULPTOR

My moment! More than great,
More than precious was the instant. Now let me show
You that for which you came, the bust on which
I have replaced the covering, for all
The inspiration I have felt came but

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From you. And now the work is done, 'tis sweet
To welcome you. 'Tis passing sweet......

DANTE

(*Detaining the Sculptor a moment as he would unveil the bust of Dante.*)

'Tis sweet
That you should strip my soul and lay it bare
Before men's gaping eyes! Dismantle then,
That I may see with what you won the praise,
The honeyed words, the adulation of
The moment just now gone. But wait—I would
Prolong this limpid joy in which I stand
Suspended, stay its pure delight. I first
Would ask if you have made me beautiful,
If you have caught the zest, the eagerness,
With which I lived, the rapture of my faith?
Have you marked the soft caress that once was on
My lips? The tenderness that filled my heart,
That loved all things and man? And have you caught
And chiselled, too, the vision made me see
Man's frailty—yet led me to endure, the while
I loved him? Have you mirrored in my eyes their hope,
The self-forgetfulness, the love of beauty,
Through which I lived, that bade me toil through years
Creating poetry? Those hours of work,
Do they show, too? Perhaps in furrowed brow?
Or, have you brushed them all away, to leave
The man as once the youth began?

(*Turning to the Sculptor.*)

Divine
Worker of grace, maker of images, lift now
The covering, gently, easily! I would
Not look upon myself too soon!

(*The Sculptor raises the covering slowly.*)

The bust !
The ribbéd chest that once was mine ! The neck—
How it resembles one that bore my head,
And yet—the face is old, the skin, oh God,
Sags heavily. Those lines—could you have erred ?
Oh, no, you couldn't—not *you* ! Go on ! Make haste !
Remove the cloth that I may see—

(*The Sculptor removes the cloth*)

My face
Like that ? My chin ? What have you done ? Forgive
Me, Sir. I meant not to frighten you, or cry
Aloud. My lips do tremble and I know
Not what I say. I suffer so, and now
I shiver ! My heart, so filled with joy, what knife
Is this that, piercing, cools your warmth,
And changes ardent hope to desolation ?
Mine eyes, what have you looked upon ? Oh, that
You might have blinded been, or stricken ere
You looked upon this cruelty, the bust
So-called of Dante !

SCULPTOR

Dante, don't ! I did
Not mean to hurt you so !

DANTE

Then what, Sir, is
This travesty ? Whose bust is this you've carved
In stone, eternally ? If I accuse
You wrongfully, then tell the truth—whose then
The cold and hard'ning lines, whose the cruel eye,
The gaze of bitter anguish ? Whose the lips

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[illegible]

Compressed, the pinched and narrow temples—mine?
Mine? Oh, let me hear you say it's just
A mockery!

* * *

You do not speak! You mean—
For this I've been your dream, your inspiration?
No, no, 'twould be too terrible! I give
You one more chance! The truth, I beg of you,
The truth!

* * *

Your lips are sealed, your silence shows
Your guilt. Is this the vision, then, you sought?
This—and not the other; the man—and not the poet?
Of me you've made a Masque, a pseudo-face,
Or may it be I do forget that once,
Like yours, my soul was garbed in human flesh
That aged and hung upon its bones? In one
Brief moment am I crushed, made thus to look
Before the world—a skeleton.

Dante draws his cloak about him, moving slowly, sorrowfully to the door, speaking no longer to the Sculptor.)

That's all
He saw—the sharpened features of a man
Who might be any man, the thin-lipped face,
The contour of the outer man—for this
The world has praised the sculptor, this! And all
The while I thought 'twas *Dante* whom he loved.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

THE OUTLOOK FOR WESTERN CIVILIZATION

II—THE LITERATURE OF HOPE

As I stated in these pages last month, my editorship of this magazine will come to an end in the early autumn, when I assume my new duties as president of the University of Wisconsin. During the last four months of my editorship I am devoting these pages to a review of the observations I have made from time to time during the last six years on the general outlook for Western civilization. I am aware that to many readers this may have seemed a very broad and, perhaps, highly academic topic for consideration in a general magazine, but I have returned to it again and again because of the conviction that the good health or ill health of Western civilization in general will finally colour and control, down to the most intimate detail, both our national policies and our personal careers. And I want my final act as editor of this magazine to be a fairly comprehensive restatement of this conviction.

Last month I reviewed the literature of despair, in which many of the most astute students of contemporary affairs express the belief that we are headed toward a new dark age; this month I am undertaking to suggest the outlines of an emerging literature of hope that has led many equally astute students of our current life to entertain at least a tentative hope that we may be headed toward a new renaissance. First, however, let me briefly summarize what I said last month about the literature of despair; for the literature of hope, section by section, arises out of the same fields of research and experience which have provided the soil for the literature of despair.

After stating the point of view of those who believe that we are citizens of a disintegrating civilization, I suggested that the literature of despair has been inspired by at least seven distinct fears that have arisen in seven distinct fields of research and experience, namely:

First, *the biological fear* of racial deterioration resulting from a tendency to reproduce our population from our less and least fit human stocks rather than from our better and best human stocks; second, *the psychological fear* that we are rapidly becoming a crowd-civilization, in which the crowd-mind and crowd-processes of thinking are taking the place of the creative insurgency of the free and disciplined intelligence of the individual citizen; third, *the political fear* that democracy, as it comes to the end of its period of quantitative extension and enters its period of qualitative development, may fail to produce a civilization that is at once stable and progressive; that democracy may, like a pendulum, swing between the equally sinister extremes of reckless revolution and reckless reaction; that it may prove only a half-way house on the road to dictatorship, either the dictatorship of the proletariate or the dictatorship of the plutocracy; fourth, *the economic fear* that our industrial civilization may court disaster by exalting quantity above quality, by mechanizing a civilization that must be kept human if it is to survive; fifth, *the historical fear* that the life of a people moves in a cycle similar to the cycle of birth, youth, middle age, senescence, and death that marks the life of its individual members, and that Western civilization is senescent; sixth, *the administrative fear* that the bigness and complexity of the institutions of our civilization have outstripped the existing administrative capacity of mankind, and that we must either contrive to breed and train more great administrators or reorganize our life in terms of smaller and more manageable units; and, seven, *the moral fear* that the present younger generation has gone apostate to the sort of standards of thought and conduct upon which alone a stable civilization can be built.

These fears have been so glaringly exploited by sensational journalism and so played upon by shoddy seekers after transient notoriety that we are likely to forget that they are fears entertained by many of the most responsible scholars in biology, psychology, political science, economics, the science of administration, and ethics. In fact, my discussion of the literature of despair ignored the mere sensationalism of the penny-a-line pessimists; it was based solely upon the writings of accredited scholars. I want to make clear, therefore, that, in suggesting the existence of a literature of hope, I am not attempting to question either the sincerity or the soundness of these fears.

Personally, I believe that all of these fears, with the possible exception of the historical fear, rest upon indisputable grounds; I believe that we shall inevitably enter a new dark age, a period in which civilized values will go into decline and the race be thrust back into the precarious existence of its primitive ancestors, unless we begin with a decent promptness to remove the legitimate grounds for these fears. And it is at just this point that we are likely to forget the one thing we should remember, namely, that we cannot remove the legitimate grounds for these fears by any mere intellectual or emotional incantation. We can remove the grounds for these fears only by sheer feats of biological, psychological, political, social, economic, educational, and spiritual engineering.

The only valid literature of hope, therefore, must be not a literature of mere optimistic prophecy of a good time coming, but a literature which, arising out of the same fields of research and experience that have inspired the literature of despair, will do two definite things:

First, in its negative phase, it will tell us how to go about removing the legitimate grounds for these fears.

Second, in its positive phase, it will tell us how to set going, nationally and internationally, those biological, psychological, political, economic, administrative, educational, and spiritual forces and policies that will renew, enrich, and create a virile and veracious civilization.

The negative and positive phases of the literature of hope will not be as separate and distinct as I have suggested. In its statements it will be almost exclusively positive, but I wanted to make clear what its two effects would be in the fields of practical affairs. The main thing I want to emphasize at this point is that while mooning optimists may write a literature that will give us the spirit of hope, only responsible scientists, philosophers, administrators, and authentic spiritual seers can write a literature that will give us the anatomy of hope. Social cheer-leaders might do a little toward dulling the despair of a new dark age, but only social engineers can usher in a new renaissance. A realistic literature of hope has nothing in common with the facile and foolhardy optimism of men who regard optimism as a profession rather than a deduction from the facts in the case. It is, then, a literature of hope, not a literature of optimism, that I am discussing here. Between the two there may be a difference as wide as the world. A literature of optimism may be a literature that creates in us merely a spirit of expectancy that blindly believes a renaissance lies ahead. A literature of hope is a literature that uncovers for us the unused resources of health in our civilization and suggests to us a workable technic for using them. And a realistic literature of hope always warns us against optimism unless we set ourselves manfully at work to harness the forces of health it has pointed out to us.

Unless I misread them, our legitimate prophets of hope have warned us against certain false gleams that we shall do well not to follow. They have, I think, effectively exposed the anthology of false hopes with which our study-tables were loaded during and immediately following the war. Let me review briefly some of the things that our rather uncritical observers have regarded as grounds of hope for Western civilization—things which seem to me to bear no relation to a realistic literature of hope.

First, many Americans believed that the war would stimulate in the men who passed through it a new spirituality that would be the dynamic of a world-wide renewal. Month after month, during the war, our magazines carried articles asserting that while the boys in the trenches did not talk in exactly ecclesiastical language, they were nevertheless living daily in the presence of death and destiny, daily practising self-sacrifice as men back home were practising professions, and that out of it all they were gaining a moral enrichment and spiritual insight that would make them, when, they returned to civil life, the challengers of all that was artificial and insincere in our governments, our schools, and our churches, a new vision that would make them the flaming sponsors of a vast spiritual renewal of our common life.

All the more businesslike writers who had such articles on hand at the close of the war have carefully filed them away. They have not destroyed them, for they know that when the next war comes all they will have to do will be to take these articles out of their files, dust them off, and change the date line, for they will serve as well in one war as in another. For all such articles are based on a great delusion, and the delusions of war seem not to change greatly over the years.

The brutal truth is that war never stimulates spirituality in anybody or anything. Much that passed as renewed spirituality during the war was but the natural reaction of men in the presence of danger and under the lash of fear, an unconscious attempt to use God as a gas-mask. The test of war-induced devotion comes not during the war, but after the war.

It was not surprising that during the war our more conventionally minded religious leadership should have predicted with confidence that a renewal of civilization would follow the war. History, in a way, was on their side. Great wars and other catastrophes have frequently been followed by revivals of religion in the mystical sense. It has become a maxim that periods of disaster precipitate religious revivals, just as in primitive times famine, plague, or earthquake drove men into their temples to plead with their gods for a tempering of their plight. But modern men are likely to regard such disaster-induced revivals as expressions of panic rather than of piety.

Such crowd-phenomena are, however, deep-set in human nature. They should be approached with a full measure of sympathetic insight, not with cynicism. When tragedy has stalked across the soul of a people, it is not surprising that tried souls and tired minds should seek a refuge in a mystic other-worldliness that will lift them from a time above the perplexing circumstances of their day. It is not strange that an over-strained people should turn from challenging social duties to the sedative of mystic emotion. And this is exactly what men do in war-time.

The spiritual pretensions of war-time and the predictions of good to follow are easy targets for the ironist of post-war days, but it behooves us to step gently here, for it is hollowness rather than hypocrisy with which we are dealing. Only the part paragrapher will, at this late date, poke fun at the inflated hopes regarding the spiritual effect of the war on Western civilization. The responsible student of affairs will content himself with a reluctant admission that the war set us back instead of ahead spiritually, that the war left behind a generation of damaged souls instead of the generation of regenerated spirits it promised. This is not, let me make clear, a fling at the returned soldier, for the spiritual havoc of the war is far more in evidence in the non-combatants who stayed at home than in the men who bore the brunt of battle. It is the stay-at-homes who are to-day bringing the firing-squad mind to bear upon the problems of peace. It was Barrie, I think, who suggested that hell hath no fury like a non-combatant. My only point here is that war, however justified it may seem at the moment, is a spiritual liability, not an asset, to a civilization. War unfits men for the procedures of peace, whether in domestic or in foreign policy, and out of war can come no valid contributions to a literature of hope. The literature of hope that I have in mind now has, then, no relation to the promises of spiritual renewal that was bandied about with so much fervour during the war.

Second, many Americans have seen grounds of hope for our war-blighted civilization in the new mysticism that has swept the world in the wake of the war. I cannot believe, however, that the present popularity of mediums and the current hammerings at the gates of the other world have any basic spiritual significance for the immediate future of Western civilization. Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and their associates bring us what they regard as indisputable contact with the other world. Our printing-presses are pouring out a stream of spiritualistic literature. Never has there been so wide interest in spiritualism. All this is, I think, only natural after a war that has left empty chairs in millions of homes, but I doubt that it bears any vital relation to the spiritual renewal of civilization with which we are here concerned.

I am not attempting to pass dogmatic judgment upon spiritualism *per se*. In this, as in all matters still under investigation, between dogmatic credulity, on the one hand, and cock-sure disbelief, on the other, there is a middle ground of suspended judgment upon which, it seems to me, all honest minds will stand. It is, I think, the obligation of intelligence to suspend judgment upon the activities of any man who is trying to push a bit further the frontiers of the unknown, even if his actions may seem to us, at the moment, futile and foolish. I am saying only that, as far as my own study has taken me, I do not think that our literature of hope is being enriched by contributions from the spiritualists.

Third, many Americans just now believe that the renewal of civilization depends upon a return to an age of faith. On close examination, it is seen that those who are to-day talking most about a return to an age of faith mean a return to a blind credulity that will fly in the face of modern thought. And by modern thought I do not mean every gay and irresponsible idea that may be advanced by a 1925-model mind; I mean rather the major conclusions that the race has reached after careful and conscientious research into the machinery and motives of human life on this planet.

Certainly no contribution to a valid literature of hope can come from the apostles of a return to a blind credulity that ignores the discoveries of the modern mind as it has clutched avidly at the garment of God, pleading and plodding for a deeper insight into the meaning of life. And yet there are many who fear that we are on the eve of just such a return to blind credulity. They offer as grounds for their fear Mr. Bryan's sustained and sporadically successful campaign against the honest findings of biology—as if it mattered spiritually whether man was created in a few quick minutes or in many millions of slow years—and the wide-spread revival of doctrinalism that insists that men must think their way into their living instead of living their way into their thinking.

I do not share the fear of those who think we are witnessing, or are likely to witness, any such wholesale backsliding of the modern intelligence. The reasons that lie back of the current anti-scientific crusade, which is being dramatized as I write in a Tennessee court room, and the revival of dogmatic doctrinalism in many of our churches seem to me to be reasons that are inherent in our age.

An age of enlightenment always brings, sooner or later, a flare-up of the old dogmatisms. Professor Harald Höffding of the University of Copenhagen gives a lucid explanation of this phenomenon in his "Leading Thoughts of the Nineteenth Century," when he says that "the general characteristics of a specific century do not apply equally to all strata of society, let alone to all individuals. In every age there are great numbers of people who are very little affected by what, from a historical standpoint, gives their time its peculiar character. During the century of 'enlightenment' many cherished quietly their old beliefs; but when the new thought became too obtrusive, they resolutely opposed it ...... Even in circles where 'enlightenment' was the animating force, a certain weariness would intrude at times—a yearning for different mental food and other ideals. Wherever education and knowledge were more than a passing vogue, men were expected to strain every mental nerve, to think intensely upon every subject. Gradually this brought a desire for relaxation, for rest in the simple and the commonplace, for resigning oneself to formulas that did not need to be re-examined anew every time they were used."

This, it seems to me, is an accurate picture of what is happening in the United States just now. Thousands who are not alarmed by deviations from orthodoxy in religion, in politics, or in economics are plain tired, and are nestling in the comforting arms of normalcy. The more belligerent warriors against political, economic, and religious modernism are men who have been cherishing quietly their old beliefs until recently, but who, seeing that many of the newer conceptions were about to take the field, have come into the open for a valiant last stand. I conceive the anti-modern movement of our time to be, therefore, not the advance of a conquering host, but the fitful writhing of an old order on its death-bed. Clearly, then, I do not believe that the anti-modernists have any contribution to make to our literature of hope. Although, honesty compels us to admit, many scientists have helped bring the present anti-science movement down upon their heads by the way in which, outside their laboratories, they have indulged in sterile dogmatisms, unsupported by their own researches, which, for the man in the street, have robbed life of its meaning.

It is far from my intention to suggest by all this that the churches will play no part in the needed renewal of our civilization. I mean only that, for the time being, many of our churches are being regrettably rent by doctrinal debates that are paralyzing their power as spiritual factors in our common life. There has never been a time when men were as spiritually hungry as they are to-day. This is not an irreligious age. Only the superficial observer will pass such judgment upon it. Men are hungry for spiritual leadership. Men are interested as never before in the mystery and the mastery of life. They want light on the mystery of life and leadership in the mastery of life. And they do not know where to turn for this light and for this leadership. They turn to the scientists, and find that many of them have been so busy with their analyses that they have lost the sense of synthesis; that life, to them, is a series of proved, but unrelated, facts. They turn to the churches, and they find many of them rent with a bitter theological warfare. They find that, in many instances, the praying-ground has been turned into a prize-ring, and that, to paraphrase one of Mr. Bryan's widely quoted phrases, many ministers would travel at least as far to save a syllogism as to save a soul. Warfare, even in defence of a righteous cause, is a spiritually destructive process; and this applies to theological as well as to military warfare. The man in the street does not indulge in nice discriminations. He does not realize that the majority of ministers and laymen are not interested in this ill-advised and ill-mannered boxing-bout of the dogmatists, but are devoting their insight and energy to just the things in which he is interested—the mystery and the mastery of life. Unfortunately, the man in the street is likely to form his opinion of the churches more from their theological disputes than from their spiritual ministries. In a day of resurgent doctrinalism, the religious pugilist claims more attention than the religious prophet. But under this carnival of theological pugilism there is a vast and virile religious realism that will, in time, make a fundamental contribution to our literature of hope —a contribution that may, indeed, bind all the other contributions together into a spiritual unity. I do not want to be understood as suggesting that either religion or science should dispense with doctrine; both must, from time to time, garner their findings in statements upon which humanity can act. I suggest only that the present battle is an indecent scuffle over an issue that has no spiritual significance either for our citizens or for our civilization, and that it will not, in my judgment, contribute anything to our literature of hope.

Fourth, I should like to make clear that a realistic literature of hope has no connection with the exploded myth of automatic progress. Any hope that can be entertained by honest minds must be contingent upon humanity's having the wit, the will, and the technic for using the forces of health that may be at hand. The modern mind cannot resign itself to any fatalism, either a fatalism of hope or a fatalism of despair. We are, for good or for ill, the architects of our own future. We are not doomed to war or famine or pestilence. If this come, it will be because we let our knowledge rot in our laboratories and in our brains. And no beneficent power will carry us baby-like into peace, health, prosperity, and happiness. These await our intelligent use of the knowledge that is ours. The blind believer in progress has no contribution to make to our literature of hope.

I make no apology for having consumed virtually all of the space that is at my disposal for this paper in saying what the literature of hope is not, and reserving only a few brief paragraphs for a description and analysis of the literature of hope. The present status of the literature of hope makes this the only truthful treatment. The only realistic literature of hope that we have is as yet an almost hopelessly inco-ördinated mass of raw materials. We may call it a "literature" of hope only by courtesy. It would, for instance, be an easy matter to compile a list of titles for a "five-foot shelf" of the literature of despair, because the literature of despair has been written down in terms of clear-cut generalizations and confident prophecies, the authors of which have consciously set themselves to the task of predicting the future of Western civilization. The literature of despair is essentially a literature of prophecy based upon an analysis of what is happening and what is likely to happen to our civilization because we have run into certain biological, psychological, economic, political, administrative and moral blind alleys. The literature of hope is not a literature of prophecy at all. It is simply the as yet inco-ördinated collection of all the new ideas, new idealisms, and new spiritual values that have been thrown up as by-products of the sciences, philosophies, and practical adventures of the modern mind, which, if we had the wit and will and technic to use wisely in the rearing of our families, the administering of our schools, and the running of our governments, industries, and professions, might close the door to a new dark age and open the door to a new renaissance. Thus we see that our real literature of hope has not been written by optimistic prophets; it has been written by men who may not have been at all concerned with speculations about the future of civilization, but by men who are animated primarily by the itch to know.

Modern biology has thrown up a few ideas that represent biology's net contribution to the social and spiritual future of civilization, a few ideas that we have not yet taken seriously either in our social policies or in our personal lives. What are these ideas? I shall not, as a layman, presume to say. That question must be answered by some man in whom a knowledge of biology and a flair for social leadership meet and merge. Modern psychology has likewise made its contribution to the social and spiritual future of civilization. So has economics. So has sociology. So has the science of administration. So have the men who have given their lives to the study of ethics. So have all the sciences and philosophies. So have all the practical adventures in politics, in industry, and in the professions. If we could ferret out these creative and germinal ideas and list them, we would have an inventory of the raw materials of renaissance.

Unfortunately, many of these ideas are to-day buried under the jargon of technical scholarship. Many of them are still under the exclusive patronage of cloistered intellectuals. They are insulated from fruitful contact with our common life. And just as long as we allow these tonic ideas and energizing ideals and creative spiritual values to lie unused in the corners of obscure laboratories, in the far-from-the-world philosopher's closets, and in the brains of more or less inarticulate scholars, our common life will be captured by catchwords, ruled by snap judgments, and rifled by special interests.

There is going on to-day throughout the civilized world a high-tensioned conflict between what H. G. Wells has described as "very powerful social and political traditions" and "a spreading tide of new knowledge and an unprecedented onrush of new inventions that are entirely incompatible with these social and political traditions that still dominate men's minds."

It is in this "spreading tide of new knowledge" and in this "unprecedented onrush of new inventions" that we must look for our literature of valid hope. We can get along without smiling prophets of a golden age to come if we can only find the men and women who will uncover and thrust into the stream of popular thought these new ideas, these new idealisms, and these new spiritual values upon the use or disuse of which the future of Western civilization depends. Their use will spell renaissance. Failure to use them will spell dark ages.

The determination and formulation of this literature of hope is a primary task for the leadership of the next half-century. I shall undertake to state next month some of the problems that leadership is likely to face.

III—Engineers of a New Renaissance

* * *

In the July[1] issue I discussed an existing literature of despair in which post-war pessimism has been expressed with an unprecedented richness of detail. This is the literature in which we meet the confident prophecy that Western civilization is headed toward a new dark age. I dismissed, as not germane to that discussion, the writings of those practitioners of intellectual sadism who eke out a journalistic living by terrorizing the credulous with lurid prophecies of wholesale social disaster. I defined the literature of despair exclusively in terms of the sober second thoughts of accredited scholars whose research in their respective fields has led them to fear that we are citizens of a disintegrating civilization.

I outlined what seem to me to be the seven dominant fears that have inspired and have been inspired by this literature of despair. I described, with such detail as space permitted, the biological fear of racial deterioration, the psychological fear of crowd-mindedness, the political fear of undisciplined democracy, the economic fear of dehumanization through over-mechanization, the historical fear of social senescence, the administrative fear of unmanageable bigness and complexity, and the moral fear of apostasy to standards.

I felt that an attempt to clarify these contemporary fears would be a distinct service to public thinking at this time, for unless we meet and master the social fears of our time, social health will be impossible. The conquest of fear is the beginning of health, happiness, and achievement for either a man or a civilization. If I go through life glancing uneasily over my shoulder at dreaded dangers, I can neither work well by day nor sleep well by night. And this literature of despair is making clear to us that the problem of fear and how to meet it is as real a problem for us as it was for our primitive ancestors.

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[1] *Calcutta Review*, March, 1926.—*Ed.*, *C. R.*

Our primitive ancestors had to face wild beasts that were stronger than they. They were stricken dumb by the terrors of earthquake and lightning and flood and famine which they did not understand. Wild beasts are now confined to jungles and circuses. We have conquered most of the terrors of nature. Those we have not conquered we at least understand. And a fear understood is a fear half conquered. But we have taken on a lot of new fears for old. The stage-setting of our lives is different, but it is the same old play of fear and flight.

The riddle of civilization is breeding fears for us as the riddle of nature bred fears for our primitive ancestors. And despite our veneer of sophistication we are reacting to our fears very much as they reacted to theirs. The dogmas of disillusionment scattered through our literature of despair are to us what the swarm of evil spirits were to our primitive ancestors.

This literature of despair is affecting all of us, whether we read it or not. It is subtly injecting the poison of fear into the intellectual atmosphere that we breathe. A clear understanding of this literature of despair is socially imperative because only so can we pull our fears out of the gray twilight of rumour in which they are likely to take on all sorts of exaggerated shapes and sizes. Our prophets of doom have, therefore, performed a significant social service by their public dissection of our fears, for if we can only drag the fears of our generation into the daylight, half the battle

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against them will be won. Those that are legitimate we can fight ; those that are groundless we can forget.

In the August[1] issue I discussed an emerging literature of hope. This is the literature that has led certain adventurous minds to believe that, while a new dark age may be probable, a new renaissance is possible. I dismissed, as not germane to that discussion, the merely sweet sentimentalities of the professional optimists. I suggested that there may be a difference as wide as the world between a literature of optimism and a literature of hope. A literature of optimism may be inspired by nothing worthier than a flight from facts ; it may be nothing more than a lyric preachment of a he-can-who-thinks-he-can-you-can-pull-yourself-up-by-your-boot-straps philosophy. A literature of hope, on the other hand, faces with utter frankness all of the ugly facts, accepts with gratitude all sections of the literature of despair in which the facts and sources of actual disease are uncovered, submits to us an inventory of the forces of health that are available and awaiting our intelligent use, and warns us against optimism unless and until we actually harness these forces of health and put them at work in our private lives and our public affairs.

We would do well to throw into the waste-basket or the fire all of the merely optimistic literature regarding Western civilization that has been written by human Chanticleers whose only contribution to contemporary discussion is a loud crow for Utopia. We can neither prevent a new dark age nor produce a new renaissance by the voluble inanities of the booster; such achievements wait upon the technic of the builder. A new renaissance must depend upon engineers rather than cheer-leaders.

It was, I admitted in the August discussion, a little misleading for me to speak of a literature of hope with the

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[1] *Calcutta Review*, April, 1926—*Ed.*, *C. R.*

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same definiteness I used in speaking of the literature of despair, for no such definitely formulated literature of hope exists as yet. That is to say, we have no literature of hope in the sense of confident prophecies of a new renaissance to match the confident prophecies of a new dark age that dot the pages of the literature of despair.

I used the phrase "a literature of hope" very loosely to suggest the vast mass of inco-ördinated raw materials of renewal that have been thrown up as by-products of the sciences, philosophies, and practical experience of modern mankind. These new ideas, new idealisms, and new spiritual values, fortified by all that is valid in the knowledge of the past, are lying about us to-day in confusion and challenge, waiting only for adequate leadership to bring them together and to touch them into life. We are to-day threatened by a new dark age because we have not used these raw materials as we should have used them in the building of family life, the practice of politics, the management of business and industry, the organization of international affairs, and the development of educational policy and procedure. We may, I am convinced, realize a renaissance of Western civilization within the lifetime of this generation if we consciously set ourselves to the task of making these raw materials the basis of the policy and action of our common life.

Western civilization must, as I see it, choose between voluntary social control and involuntary social suicide. And the only sound social control will be a control in terms of the best knowledge that we have. The problem of our generation is to bring knowledge into contact with life and to make it socially effective. The men and women who can help us to do this will be the engineers of a new renaissance. How are we to go about this Gargantuan task? What sort of leadership do we need? It is with some aspects of this problem of leadership and procedure that I want now to deal.

§ 2

The New ncyclopedists.—I suggest that we need to have done for modern knowledge something analogous to what Diderot and the Encyclopedists did in the eighteenth century. To be specific, I think Western civilization would profit vastly from the labours of a group of men who would go, with conscientious care, through the findings of modern biology, psychology, anthropology, experimental ethics, genetics, economics, sociology, chemistry, physics, through the findings of all the natural and social sciences, pulling out, tabulating, and reducing to easily understandable terms the net social and spiritual contribution that each of these adventures of the modern mind has made to the future of our civilization. This would give us something approaching an inventory of the raw materials of social renewal upon which we must depend.

All of these sciences have lying, relatively unused, in their laboratories certain socially usable ideas that would, if really used, lift the whole tone and temper of modern life. Unfortunately many of these ideas are to-day buried under the jargon of technical scholarship and effectively insulated from contact with the common life. Now and then fitful and fractional glimpses of these ideas filter into the press and are pounced upon by demagogues who misinterpret them and use them in a misguided warfare against the whole salutary output of the modern mind. If we are to save the results of modern research from slander at the hands of demagogues or from sterility as the private luxuries of the sophisticated, there must be, I think, some soundly conceived attempt to winnow out the net social and spiritual contributions of scholarship from the chaff of attendant detail and to translate these contributions into the vernacular. I doubt that we have much right to complain of the victories won by the evangelism of superstition until we have matched it by an equally earnest evangelism of scholarship.

Scholarly research may unearth and amass all of the necessary raw materials for a thoroughgoing renaissance of Western civilization, but these raw materials will be about as valuable as so much sawdust if they lie unused in our laboratories or remain buried in technical brochures that none save the initiated can understand. And they will not be used in any socially effective way until the man in the street has at least a bowing acquaintance with them. If we are to realize a renaissance we must somehow thrust the results of research into the stream of common thought and make them the basis of social action. The creative scholar is the hope of civilization, but his contribution does not become a social asset until it gets beyond the stage of inarticulate accuracy.

I realize the objections that will arise in the scholar's mind to the suggestion that we undertake to tabulate and translate into the vernacular the net contributions that the sciences have so far made to the future of civilization. It will be worth while to consider two of the objections that will almost inevitably be made.

First, it may be said that any such attempt to make science give orders to civilization would violate both the spirit and method of science which has enabled the modern mind to discover these ideas and principles that might mean so much to our future. The creative scholar has an insatiable appetite for facts and an insistent reluctance to draw conclusions. To this modesty of scholarship the world owes a debt it can never discharge. I realize the importance of suspended judgment in the work of the scholar, but it seems to me that we must also face the fact that a civilization will starve on a diet of suspended judgments alone. The scholar can never turn dogmatist. He must ever hold his conclusions open to revision in the light of further research. This does not, however, do away with the fact that, unless civilization is to play into the hands of selfish interests and social inertia, society must evolve some technic for using the results of scholarly research in the determination of its basic policies.

The end of all research and analysis is synthesis and social application. This must mean, it seems to me, that every now and then we must gather up the results of a period of research into what, for want of a better term, may be called a series of tentative dogmatisms upon which society can act until further research reveals wiser bases of action. Such tentative dogmatisms would not do violence to the scientific spirit; they would, on the contrary, faithfully express it. The scholar is rightfully fearful that the popular mind is so accustomed to the changeless dogmas of arbitrary authority or superstition that it would misinterpret the purpose of scholars if they offered to society tentative dogmas from the laboratory. But the solution of this difficulty does not lie in the scholar's refusing to accept the responsibilities of social leadership; the solution lies rather in the development of an education that will inspire in students the scientific spirit as well as retail to them the discoveries of science. A generation trained in the scientific spirit will not be afraid to act upon tentative dogmas from the laboratory and to scrap them as soon as further knowledge proves them inadequate. We are now, I think, in a period that calls for a clear although frankly tentative inventory of the socially usable ideas that have been produced by the natural and social sciences. The New Encyclopedists are overdue.

Second, it may be said that the scholar's business is pure science, not applied science, and that his goal is truth, not utility. This is, of course, an accurate analysis of the aims and temper of the productive scholar. Pure science produces nitric oxide directly from the air, not because some scholar is interested in the nitrate market, but because he is animated by the itch to know. The result of this research, however, is soon recognised as a usable fact that may completely revolutionize the nitrate market. Pure science gives us vacuum-tubes, but before many years have passed this result of pure science becomes socially usable in terms of radiotherapy. That is to say, the end of pure science is applied science, despite the fact that the pure scientist may work best when innocent of any utilitarian motive.

And, of course, the really important results of pure science invariably get used socially, but often only after a long and wasteful period of muddling. The question that Western civilization, face to face with the threat of a new dark age, needs to answer just now is this: Might not a wiser social statesmanship speed up this transfer from pure science to applied science instead of leaving the transfer to the slow fortunes of a snail-paced infiltration into the public mind or to the manipulation of purely materialistic interests? If Western civilization is dependent upon "a race between education and catastrophe," might we not help education to win the race by ferreting out and making intelligible to the average man the major results of creative scholarship? I think we can. And I think one of the first steps in this direction would be taken if we brought the New Encyclopedists together and set them to work.

I am not assuming that progress can be manufactured overnight. I know that all sound social advance is a matter of growth. I know that mankind lives by instinct more than by reason. When the New Encyclopedists turn their attention to the field of modern psychology, they will find all this staring them in the face. I am suggesting only that we may facilitate the process of growth by a little more conscious preparation of the soil of progress.

Where shall we find the men and women for this adventure in social statesmanship? If an evangelism of scholarship is needed, how shall we effect a union between the accuracy of the scholar and the popular appeal of the evangelist? Effective evangelism has too often served only the sensational and the traditional. Can it be made the servant of the realistic and the creative? This is the problem that will confront the New Encyclopedists. And it is a problem that the rank and file of creative scholars may not be able to solve, for two fairly obvious reasons:

First, in many instances, the creative scholar may not be the best judge of what his net contribution to society has been. If he undertakes to distil from his achievements the essence that is socially usable, he may dissipate his own energies, distract the attention of his readers, and obscure the main point by spending too much time on collateral aspects of his ideas, aspects that may seem very important to him as a scholar, but which may have little practical significance in terms of social application.

Second, the spirit of propaganda and the spirit of research do not work well together in the average mind, even in the great fraternity of scholars. Each is likely to reduce the effectiveness of the other.

This does not mean that the attempt to make a tentative summary and interpretation of the socially usable ideas from the sciences must be made by laymen with facile pens who may take a few months off in which to "bone up" on the sciences. Here and there and yonder, inside and outside our universities and research institutions, there are unusual scholars who combine the burrowing qualities of the mole with the singing qualities of the lark, men who are masters alike of the science of research and the art of expression. It is from the ranks of these scholar-geniuses that we must draw the leaders of the New Encyclopedists. Such men will, of course, know how to make use of good minds and facile pens that may lie outside the ranks of professional scholarship.

Much of what I am suggesting is, of course, being done to-day by these scholar-geniuses and by a small handful of really responsible popularizers of modern knowledge, but it is to-day a scattered enterprize, lacking the impact of a great organized and coherent effort to interpret the major findings of the modern mind. I should like to see some great publishing house or some great university sponsor such an enterprize, for, despite the almost insuperable difficulties that lie in its way, I cannot but believe that the victories of intelligence will be insecure, liable to periodic defeats by strange revivals of obscurantism, until, as I put it earlier, we match the evangelism of superstition by an equally earnest evangelism of scholarship.

§ 3

A Ringmaster of Specialists.—I have just discussed what seems to me one of the definite possibilities of leadership for a new renaissance. I want now to discuss one of the probabilities of leadership. I have said that I think we have at hand most of the necessary raw materials for a renaissance of Western civilization, and that the question is: Will we have the wisdom, the will, and the technic to use them on anything like a grand scale for the renewal of our common life? I think that an affirmative answer to this question may depend a good deal upon whether there arises during the next twenty-five years a great spiritual leader who will be able to capture the attention of the whole Western world and fire its imagination with the social and spiritual possibilities that are locked up in these new ideas, new idealisms, and new spiritual values with which the natural and social sciences have provided us.

When I made this statement in these columns three years ago, it was instantly challenged by various editorial writers throughout the United States and Europe. Whenever I have made it since, I have had to face a vigorously sharp fire of criticism. I can best report that criticism by

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recalling a typical conversation with a distinguished scholar who agreed fully with the suggestion that the renewal of our civilization can come only through the social use of the results of modern research, but disagreed emphatically with the suggestion that any such movement of renewal needs or is likely to find a great leader to inspire it.

"You are entirely right," he said, "in saying that modern science has furnished modern civilization with the raw materials of a new renaissance. And I am not without hope that we shall really get around to using these raw materials. I think I see signs, even in this post-war confusion, that before long we may see a vast fresh advance of the human spirit, a new humanism that will have its roots deep set in the soil of science. I think you and I may live to see this new renaissance you are writing about, but if and when it comes, there will be no great leader at its head."

I had outlined to him the suggestion of the New Encyclopedists, and, with such reservations and recognition of difficulties as I have included in this paper, he agreed that such an enterprize was needed and might be effectively executed, but he balked at the notion of a single great leader's bringing a world-wide leadership to modern civilization.

"I think," he said, "that you are being mislaid by your memory of great historical movements. The renaissance had its Erasmus. The Reformation had its Luther. The Revival had its Wesley. But the new renaissance you suggest is a different sort of movement and it must work itself out in a different sort of age. And these two facts afford the two reasons why Western civilization will never find renewal in the trail of a great personal leader."

"Let's take your two reasons one at a time," I suggested.

"All right," he said, "here is the first reason. Your New Encyclopedists, if there were enough of them, might roughly and tentatively list the major results of modern research in a helpful manner, but the mere bulk of modern knowledge has become so great that it is intellectually impossible for any man to come to know enough about the various fields of human thought and interest to enable him to bring anything like authoritative general leadership to the situation. With knowledge increasing by leaps and bounds while the intellectual capacity of mankind remains stationary, we have reached a time when the individual mind must be content with specialisms. There can never be another Aristotle, not even a Descartes, or a Humboldt. The next renaissance must be a renaissance by piecemeal. A movement that means the propagation of a set of doctrines or the contagion of a new emotion may be promoted by a great leader, but a world-wide movement that means the synthesis and social application of modern knowledge can have no great leader; it can have only leaders in the various sections of knowledge.

"And this brings me to the second reason. The time has passed for trusting to great leaders. Humanity has had its fill of Napoleonism. And a Napoleonism in the fields of the mind and the spirit would be the worst of all. We are out of the age of great personal leadership. We are in the age of group leadership."

I cannot bring myself to agreement with these contentions. I think we have allowed ourselves to become unduly awed by the bulk of modern knowledge. I believe that in any given field of knowledge the great ideas that are vital to the future of civilization are very few and very simple, at least susceptible of a simple statement of their social utility. At any rate, we know that the ideas that are to underlie the social renewal of civilization in the next fifty years will have to be susceptible of simple statement, for involved ideas have never moved great masses of people save after long stretches of years. And I believe that one of those rare, intuitive minds that the race seems to produce at historic intervals could, even at this late date, range over the whole field of modern knowledge, arrive at a fairly accurate sense of the dynamic ideas that the various sciences have contributed to the social and spiritual future of mankind, and render a distinguished service to civilization as an advance agent of renaissance.

Such a leader would in no sense supplant group leaderships; he would supplement group leaderships. He would be a sort of impresario of our group leaderships. He would play ringmaster to the specialists, luring them out of their air-tight and often thought-tight compartments and welding them into a fighting fraternity for the common good.

Such a leader, as I have said from hundreds of platforms, would have to be a sort of combination of Francis Bacon and Billy Sunday. That is to say, he would have to be a catholic-minded person, an omnivorous reader who had ranged over the whole fields of human knowledge, and had made himself more or less at home with the great generalizations that have emerged and are emerging from the sciences, philosophies, and practical experiences of mankind. And there would have to be just enough of the alloy of mountebankery in him to enable him to touch the imagination of the masses and to invest the whole adventure of the modern mind with that absorbing passion for humanity which has characterized all great epochs of civil and religious progress.

I am not thinking of such leadership in terms of a secular Messiah who will carry us over the rough places and deposit us gently in some promised land of renewal. I am thinking only of the fact that such leadership might awaken an effective popular impulse to search out, interpret, and weave into social policy these new ideas, new idealisms, and new spiritual values that have been thrown up out of our laboratories, our class-rooms, our philosophers' closets, our industrial institutions, and our political adventures. This impulse, in any wide-spread and effective sense, is to-day lacking. We stand outside our laboratories eagerly waiting for any result of research that we may apply to the material undertakings of our lives, but we display a strange reluctance to plant our larger social policies in the soil of science. It is not chimerical, I think, to suppose that even one great figure, with a genius for leadership, might stir the whole Western world to a realization that the same scientific spirit that has enabled us to remake our civilization materially can enable us to remake our civilization socially and spiritually. I believe that our civilization is in a state of delicate balance, with the possibility that it may tip toward retrogression or toward revival, but that even one great and forceful personality, with a devotion to science and a passion for humanity, might tip the balance toward renaissance.

I doubt that such a leader is likely to appear as a wandering free-lance. The modern world seems organized against the itinerant prophet. We are so busy, so distracted, and so obsessed with the idols of respectability and exalted position. Humanity is even readier than it was nineteen hundred years ago to crucify, at least by ostracism and neglect, a leadership that appears with no authority save the intrinsic authority of its own sincerity and vision. We have become so materialistic and artificial that we have difficulty in recognizing great leadership apart from the glittering regalia of high office and the clamorous cry of mob approval. This probably means that the Erasmus of any new renaissance, the Luther of any new reformation, or the Wesley of any new revival of Western civilization will have to be a man whose official position gives to his voice a sounding-board with world-wide resonance and gives to his pronouncements an obvious and automatic prestige. For instance, a British Premier or an American President, possessing the sort of qualities I have suggested, might light the fires of renaissance in a few brief years by putting the prestige and attention-getting values of his office back of the ideas, idealisms, and spiritual values that the New Encyclopedists might uncover. If the fortunes of Western history in the years ahead do not provide us with such leadership, we must, of course, achieve the result by some slower process.

§ 4

The Rôle of Religion in Renaissance.—Before concluding this discussion I must deal with another of the major criticisms that has been made of the theory or formula of social renewal that has been advanced in these papers.

A distinguished prelate of one of the Protestant communions said to me some time ago: " I am sorry to see you leave religion out of your projected picture of the renaissance of Western civilization. As it stands, you are pinning your hopes to a coldly secular movement. The raw materials of renewal that you suggest are by-products of the natural and social sciences which are purely secular adventures. And you suggest that the dominant leadership of a spiritual renewal of civilization may be found outside the church."

If I have seemed to minimize the importance of religion in the needed renewal of our civilization, it has been due to faulty statement, not to intention. I am convinced that any renaissance or renewal that is to mean more than a mere reëstablishment of the old order of things under new names must be, in the deepest sense of the word, a religious movement. It must deal with the roots of life, not merely polish and pack in new and fancy containers the fruits of life. Anything less will be only an abortive adventure in what Mazzini called " the petty skirmishes for interests and right."

I believe, with Mazzini, that "there has never been a single great revolution that has not had its source outside material interests. We know of riots, of popular insurrections, but of none that has been crowned with success, or transformed into a revolution. Every revolution is the work of a *principle*, which has been accepted as a basis of faith. If a revolution did not imply a general reorganization by virtue of a social principle, if it did not secure a moral unity, we should believe it our duty to oppose the revolutionary movement with all our power. The true instrument of the progress of the peoples is to be sought in the moral factor."

I believe, as I have said repeatedly in these papers, that the next great spiritual renewal will come as a result of our bringing together into a new synthesis the new spiritual values that have been produced by research in biology, psychology, sociology, economics, political science, and related quests of the modern mind. I do not, however, believe that the impulse to this new synthesis will arise spontaneously in these fields. We must look, I think, to some general leadership that is animated by a genuinely religious passion for the unity and richness of life to light the fires of this renaissance. The things I have suggested as sources of renaissance are not things to take the place of religion; they are simply the raw materials with which really great spiritual leadership, inside or outside the church, must work.

In every time of grand-scale readjustment a lot of new raw materials for religious enrichment are unearthed. For the last fifty years especially the scientists and the scholars have been digging out of themselves and their fields, often without realizing what it was, " the clay of which the bricks are made with which religions are built." Science has thrown up a vast mass of religious raw materials that are waiting to be used by a religious leadership that can recognize religious values even when they are unlabelled.

The problem that religious leadership faces to-day is not the reconciliation of modern science to ancient theologies, but the utilization of the results of science for the enrichment, the increase, and the moral unification of life. Science has forever demolished many of the absurdities that mankind in its ignorance had confused with religion, but science has brought added power to the appeal of every reality of religion. Science is not sniping our religious leadership; it is supplying religious leadership with some of its finest raw materials. Instead of the pathetic and irreligious bombardment of scholarship and scientific findings by certain groups in some of our churches, it is the duty of religious leadership to infuse scholarship and the findings of science with spiritual meaning.

The sort of renaissance I am suggesting does not ignore the rôle of religion in its processes ; on the contrary it broadens the scope of religious leadership. It rests upon the assumption that the conscious control of civilization is at last within our grasp if we can heal the age-old schism between the leaderships of our secular life and our spiritual life, if we can bring to the situation a religious leadership that will take all of life for its field, break down the artificial and dangerous distinction between things secular and things spiritual, and invest the whole round of human interests and activities with spiritual significance by refusing to regard religion as a mere department of life or as an alien something thrust into life.

Science alone is not a staff upon which we can afford to trust our whole weight. Science is power, but power may be prostituted. A sharp knife may be a good tool in the hands of a workman ; it may be a dangerous weapon in the hands of a lunatic. It has been only a few years since we were using the results of modern science in a war that came near being the suicide of Western civilization. But this does not justify our thinking that science is essentially irreligious ; it does not justify our turning away from scientific thinking to refuge in a tenuous mysticism alone. It only reminds us that science is neither moral nor immoral, but unmoral, waiting to be used for high ends or low at the will of the user. And, in the days of the next renaissance, it will be the business of religious leadership to see to it that the results of science in all fields are used for high ends. If I may resort again to a phrase I used a moment ago, the task of religious leadership in the new renaissance will be to help mankind use the results of modern biology, psychology, sociology, and other sciences, for the enrichment, the increase, and the moral unification of life.

Whatever may be the point of departure for the next renewal of Western civilization, and from whatever source its leadership may come, I think we know where it must look for its sources of power—to science and to religion.

"The spiritual integration of society," says Dean Inge, "must be illuminated by the dry light of science, and warmed by the rays of idealism, a white light but not cold. And idealism, must be compacted as a religion, for it is the function of religion to prevent the fruits of the flowering times of the spirit from being lost.[1]"

GLENN FRANK

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[1] Reprinted from the *Century Magazine*, by permission of the Century Co., New York.

THE RED OLEANDERS

IV

We have emphasised the fact that the main theme of this symbolic drama is not a mere plea for right relation between capital and labour or between the State and the subject people. Yet these problems viewed as disruptive forces in human society enter very largely into the plot of the drama as elements capable of an artistic handling that may subserve a higher end, *viz.*, that of representing an order of things particularly hostile to true human development and harmony, peace and freedom.

Hence a socio-political background in this drama is also made its ground-work and its enveloping medium. My contention is that in a purely social or sociological drama of modern life the collision is between two opposed social forces, orders, institutions, two opposed views or opinions, or at any rate two sets of ideas but here the conflict is the conflict of *ideals* standing for two types of culture and civilisation, that is, two distinct aspects of human evolution embodied by two representative characters.

Deliverance of man from the scheme of life obtaining in Yaksha Town is a *sine qua non* for self-realisation by individuals as much as for genuine progress of humanity as a whole. The rights of human personality so ruthlessly trampled on by the modern industrial type of civilisation have to be vindicated, set free, reasserted. This is Rabindranath's message, if we must, however reluctantly, talk of messages to make our meaning clear.

Here we have in a condensed literary form Tagore's deep thoughts on the present world discontent. The dehumanising tendency of industrial supremacy and commercial despotism breaks up happy homes, reduces men to mere passive instruments of production of wealth and its distribution, nay, to mere numerical figures ignoring the claims of individual personality and its development, ruthlessly destroys the grand ideal of harmony by aggrandisement, and, worse still, degrades religion into a sham hypocrisy which lays an unction on its soul by the outrageous self-complacent notion that if men, though brutalised in a thousand ways by this purely economic type of civilisation and social ordering, are however materially helped by way of compensation for wrong done to their delicate sensibilities and finer sentiments, no real injury is on the whole done to human life or society. This spiritual verity is, we claim, passionately presented in this piece which essentially is a magnificent protest of outraged humanity.

Tagore has, however, been to some extent anticipated by the great Goethe in his Faust. Goethe has shown in his Faust (Part II, Act V) with remarkable force and clearness the sharp contrast between two ideals of life—the mediaeval ideal of a life of piety, simplicity, reposefulness of pastoral units set over against the modern highly organised commercial and industrial life of mere material prosperity completely divorced from higher morality and spirituality. The Philemon Baucis episode in Faust beautifully brings out the true significance of the spirit of all-grasping commercial supremacy and industrial tyranny. Exploitation in its insatiable greed and rapacity thus speaks through Mephistopheles :—

> " Free ocean ,makes the spirit free :
> There claims compunction ne'er a thought !
> A rapid grip there needs alone ;
> A fish, a ship, on both we seize.
> Of three if we the lordship own,
> Straightway we hook a fourth with ease,
> Then is the fifth in sorry plight—
> Who hath the power, has still the right ;
> The What is asked for, not the How."

And Faust follows in the same tune with

> "Those few trees not mine own, that field,
> Possession of the world impair."

The all-grasping greed of self-aggrandising exploitation has seldom been more vigorously presented in such a condensed dramatic way. Faust's rapacious soul cannot brook that even a single pair of happy man and woman should mar the perfect homogeneity of his materialistic absolutism by existing independently of his economic institution and Mephistopheles only too eager to utilise this Faust-spirit in commercial magnates and industrial millionaires brings the scene to its natural close with the suggestive remark—

> "What happ'd of old, here happens too :
> Still Naboth's vineyard meets the view."

Now, in a right interpretation of Tagore's treatment of this engrossing problem we must carefully note how the spirit of East dominantly enters with its mystic symbolism into his work of art. Yet mysticism does not, we must bear in mind, make his protest on behalf of injured humanity for the dignity of man as man any the less passionate or vigorous.

We have already referred to the keynote of the old frog. We would now note among others the hints of such dramatic touches as the strange light with which *Nandini's* face is suffused like the glare of a glowing torch in the sky which reminds one of Asia's transfiguration in Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound."

Then comes the single feather of the bird of good omen (the blue-throat) discovered by her on her bed on the fateful day of Ranjan's arrival. Next we have her observation that the Raja frightens her by his peculiar trait of impatience with things that cannot be *known* but can only be *felt*. There is

Bishu's *feeling* that the whole place is darkened everywhere by the Governor's shadow which crosses *Nandini's* vision as well making her uneasy.

These significant items have to be properly appreciated in the study of this play in the light of its symbolic value pregnant with deep meaning. For a moment we have to turn our attention to the symbolic significance of the red oleander tassel. The Professor's dark hints about the use of its crimson tint which is not only beautiful but also terrible have their artistic value and suggestive force. "Why should she," indeed, "select the red oleanders when her choice might fall on the gardenia, the tuberose or the white jasmine?" With all his learning he can ill divine what this maiden is destined to record, like the mysterious finger moving on Balthazar's wall, with that red hue. Yet he knows for certain that Providence places the brush used for painting red in the hands of Beauty. Mysteriously a sudden light dawns upon him and he at once adds "we human beings often thus choose unawares our own fate." This sombre observation is the distant rumbling of a fast-gathering tragic thunderstorm. There is a touch of fatalism associated with it. Does not the Raja too observe that the *red* light of his own evil star seems to him to appear in the shape of the tassel of oleanders hanging from *Nandini's* hair? Nay more. He might die, says he, peacefully if the maiden were to place that spray of oleanders on his head with her own hands. Symbolic of Ranjan's love the red oleanders are reminiscent of Robert Burns's "a red, red rose newly sprung in June" but the moment he is reminded by *Nandini* that Ranjan who loves them calls her by the name of red oleanders the Raja promptly mutters—"then those oleanders will be Ranjan's evil star as much as my own." Elsewhere the tassel worn by *Nandini* typifies the warmth of her rising temper at the sight of the inhuman treatment meted out to the workmen among whom she comes across many an old familiar face. A highly significant use is made of this symbolism of red oleanders when, as we have noted before, this noble maiden graces the occasion of her gift by way of a special favour to the Professor of a single flower taken from the tassel of red oleanders meant exclusively for Ranjan with the remark—"Take it now. To-day Ranjan comes to meet me; in the joy of that expectation I give you this flower." The recipient, however, we bear in mind, asked for such a transient gift to be able to *unravel*, as the philosopher that he is, *the truth* that may lurk in it. The beauty-way of viewing things as distinguished from the truth-way or the utility-way is quite foreign to the temperament of this class of persons. Yet the disinterested joy of love inclines the beautiful maiden to serve even such a person in this guise. The significance of these ever-recurring symbolic hints scattered throughout the play should not be lost upon us. As in Maeterlinck or Andreyeff, the element of external action is here reduced to a minimum. So far as achievements go much is not done by the hero or heroine. Visible action is replaced by the invisible play of the soul—by premonitions, yearnings, spiritual affinities drawing kindred souls together or repelling alien ones, deep searchings of the heart, vague misgivings and imperceptible changes in the life of the soul even in the case of persons apparently untouched by impalpable forces ever silently at work. For verily,

> "Not on the vulgar mass
> Called *work* must sentence pass
> Things done, that took the eye and had the price."

The real clash and conflict that swells the man's amount in God's eye relates to the life of the spirit and Tagore makes this spiritual conflict concrete in the soul-life of Bishu, Phagulal, the Raja, the Professor and even of that unpromising material of a slave-driver, the Sardar. The dramatic experiences of these personages as represented in *Red Oleanders* are mostly spiritual ones. Some of their evil doings are reported or referred to in many a pregnant dialogue artistically suggesting a spiritual conflict between the forces of good and those of evil. The clash of wills practically reduces itself in this play into a clash of ideals through which the souls of the important *dramatis personæ* stand revealed to our gaze or, to be more precise, by means of which we are enabled to peep into the innermost recesses of their minds and souls. A modern critic rightly observes—" thought in its sufferings, joys and struggles, is the true hero of the life of to-day." The leaven of *Nandini's* soul-disturbing presence produces a ferment in the *inner* life of the mystified Raja of Yaksha Town where like Ossa on Pelion gold is piled on gold, and the effect is that all the protective intricate network behind which he is carefully screened and fortified eventually fails to segregate his soul from a simple maiden's mightier soul force. Herein lies the crisis—the final clash and collision of opposed forces. The conflict is the eternal spiritual conflict of two ideals represented by the Raja and *Nandini.* The Raja's emancipation involves the destruction of the old order, for, " time proceeds by revealing the new in his front." The moment is bound to arrive at last for the Raja to reveal himself from behind all the complex network of a disintegrating order. And what a tragic revelation it is, not so much of himself to *Nandini* as to his own deluded blind self! His true self cannot remain eternally eclipsed by power, strength, wicked officials, the entire machinery of his own creation foolishly set up to perpetuate his supreme sway. He stands horror-struck at the revelation to himself that his age-long sedulous efforts only succeeded in killing youth, love, joy, beauty and so the inevitable curse is upon him. Even Ranjan has through his blunder been allowed to be victimised. He suddenly feels the force of the sound philosophy of life that " gods can wait but man cannot, his needs are more urgent." The Raja finally hears the conquering call of life, of the liberated soul, for which *Nandini* has so patiently waited so long. Unity is effected between him and the down-trodden workmen so that the established order of bureaucracy and industrialism may be annihilated and a new order may grow. Regeneration presupposes liberation of the cramped spirit of man from the despotism of little systems and soul-destroying institutions, from limited vision, narrow outlook, one-sided way of looking at the universe, fragmentary satisfaction, self-centred interests. In this spiritual work *Nandini* has a helper in Ranjan who infuses furor into a truly feminine heart just as he helps the working people to a sense that however much devitalised they may have become by being reduced to mere numerical signs without any individuality still they are men capable of feeling once more the intoxication of life's joyousness. Thus inspired *Nandini* comes to all at the right moment as the " Life of life and Lamp of the earth." The symbolic airy melody of a mysterious spirit voice (heard from immense space) suggests unmistakably the keynote, *viz.*, of " release from all confinement." Her mission is defined. She shall set free *the man* in the Raja by tearing asunder the network of ugliness: She will pour a flood of light into the impenetrable gloom of the subterranean passage (pp. 4 and 11). Yes, she is "Life of life and Lamp of the earth." We must note the emphasis on the ugliness of the Raja's imprisoned life. The Raja feels (p. 17) that "the strings of the Veena snap asunder instead of producing soul-dissolving melody the moment Not-Beauty wants by force to wring out a response from another heart which vibrates not in harmony with Power." Rabindranath is a consummate artist and an intense lover of beauty. We may just refer, in passing, to the supremacy of artistic imagery in this drama full of allusions to light, golden rays of the sun, intoxication of the perfumed breeze, rich and varied hues, flowers in perfect bloom, yellowing corn, shepherd's pipe, peasant's flute and, finally, the dance of the fountain beating time with the music of the twinkling anklets of foam. Wherever harmony is disturbed there is ugliness and *Nandini's* function is to restore harmony. And Ranjan who co-operates with her in her mission makes life pulsate beneath the very ribs of death. Ranjan has been compared to the large laughter of the gods which breaks the spell of the dead world of conventionality, to the magic charm of the earth's natural beauty found in the green grass or beautiful flower (as contrasted with the power buried in her bosom in the shape of gold and diamond), to the wind that fills the sail of the moving boat. Wherever he is there blossoms the joy and repose of life's holiday and that holiday is again sweetened by the perfume of *Nandini's* red oleander blossom rich with ambrosial honey (the nectar of love). The sacrifice of his life is the price demanded for the triumph of *Nandini's* ideal. Real victory is won when the body is crushed so that the spirit may be freed. That is the meaning of the cross. Thus the ideal of true freedom is realised both by *Nandini* and Ranjan. It is at this supreme tragic moment that the Raja very earnestly appeals to *Nandini* to come to his rescue by trusting him and placing her hand in his to strengthen his resolve to fight against his lower self and achieve his own deliverance. He breaks his flag-staff on the very eve of the feast of Flag-worship so elaborately organised by the Sardar and looked forward to by the Royal Guards as a solemn ceremony to be performed with great eclat. Simultaneously with this the diggers with Phagulal as their leader are bent upon breaking the prison gate. The fall of the Bastille will complete the work begun by the Raja who recognises the need for joint action with the diggers in order to achieve the great work of emancipation in the face of the opposition offered by the representatives and upholders of the old order, *viz.*, the Sardar and his associates. Even the military will stand in opposition but he will rather die in the glorious attempt for now he understands the true meaning even of death in such a cause. The Professor too having heard of the Raja's conversion proposes to join him in the quest of life's inner secret after having thrown away his books. Finally comes Bishu rather a bit too late and finds Ranjan lying dead with the red oleanders in his hand which he interprets to Phagulal as the red marriage tie of Ranjan and *Nandini* in their tragic but spiritual union.

With wonderful artistic skill the dramatist here introduces a touch of concentrated pathos which pierces the tenderest core of our heart in that solemn moment of *Nandini's* discovery of Ranjan lying on the floor. After vainly appealing with intense emotional fervour to her beloved to awake at the call of his dear one—his own Red Oleander—the maddened sorrow-stricken maiden looks up in her divine babe-like innocence to the Raja and piteously asks in the rugged simplicity of stunning grief—"O King! why does he not wake up?" To our mind, the exquisite beauty of this rare art has been sacrificed to secure stage effect, be it as a matter of dramatic necessity. This concentrated pathos is somewhat thinned away by her next appeal to the Raja to use his magic skill to wake Ranjan up or in default to lull her to sleep. But art refuses to desert Tagore and immediately after we note how the maiden's heart beats quick at the sight of her own oleanders in Ranjan's grasp and she understands that Kishore must have presented them to him on her behalf. Equally pathetic yet sweeter even in its pathos is Bishu's hope that can create out of its wreck a fresh hope. Bishu and Phagulal call each other to carry on the noble mission of striving for liberty inspired by the example of *Nandini* who is now beyond their reach. Bishu picks up "her wristlet of red oleanders" to keep it us a token while proceeding like Sir Bedivere on his lone journey bereft of *Nandini's* company cherishing the fond hope that perhaps that mad girl of his may meet him, perhaps she may once more long to hear him sing!

Who knows?

Oppressive in its subdued tone of deep resignation is the pathos of Bishu's silent expression of chastening sorrow. His last words ring in our ears like the moaning sound of the distant ocean. "I told her that never would I demand or accept anything from her hand by way of recompense. Here at last I have to take the wristlet of red oleanders from her cold hand, for, verily, here is my beloved girl's last testament, her final legacy!" The curtain is artistically rung down on the symbolic song—

> "Hark! the call of Autumn—
> Come, O come along
> The ripe corn has filled the skirt of the Earth's dust
> O the bliss, the bliss of it!"

We are made by the poet-dramatist to realise "love that is Truth and Life, in beauty blended" with the result

> "That now our hearts are lifted up with dread,
> And exaltation to a Light above.
> The rainbows, where life rises from the dead,
> And Beauty walks in Everlasting Love."

There is a deep mystery of pain. Thorns that tear us were once woven into a crown for the saviour of man. Eva Gore Booth discovers Hidden Beauty "where the spirit builds a rainbow from whirling rings of pain" and, "moulds out of the Spirit of Love the Body of Love's Desire." So do we in "Red Oleanders."

It is needless to add that we have not entered upon an aesthetic consideration of the precise nature and value of Tagore's "Red Oleanders" as a drama nor discussed the kind of drama it represents or its resemblance with or difference from dramatic types in general or any special variety of it. Little has been said about its structural form or its technique. The interpretation offered has been based on character study and not plot construction or dramatic action. It will surely be admitted by competent criticism that the relation of the characters to the main theme or what constitutes its central interest is a sure clue to its real meaning. This method of study is pre-eminently suited to dramatic types in which the plot is adapted to the characters and character is not made subsidiary to plot or action. The "Red Oleanders" is a play in which character decidedly dominates plot. The story is no doubt the starting point in all dramatic forms but it is not always necessarily the guiding spirit especially in symbolic or mystic plays.

A running poetic commentary on the spirit of the play is artistically furnished by the songs with their deep spiritual significance which determine at the same time the inspiring *tone* of the dramatic action while diversifying the dialogue with music and poetry. They waft a breath of melody fraught with love, joy and hope from the Beyond into the cramped drab life of the mining population scattering in profusion the health-giving charm of leisured native wisdom. They suggest a comparison with snatches of song, of ballads, popular tags and tavern catches so liberally used by Shakespeare. In this play the songs explain, amplify, emphasize, poetically suggest the deeper meaning that underlies the spirit of the whole piece and occasionally serve the purpose of the Greek chorus in some of its numerous functions. By themselves they are valuable too through their rich poetic quality and revelation of life's deeper import. They set Bishu's character off and bring into the prosaic realities of life a breath of romance from the beautiful elf-land of ideal love and joy and thus interpenetrate the finite with the infinite and the conventional with the very soul of spontaneity. Their real importance is, of course, best appreciated in their respective setting and context. We have to take the risk of detaching them from their dramatic surroundings and say something about their value. Their song quality is obvious. Their delicate suggestiveness inexhausible. They also create an atmosphere and possess a symbolic meaning. A feeble attempt may here be made to indicate their qualities by a free translation which makes one perfectly realise how hopeless the task is to thus embody their soul.

We have at the outset a harvest song (পৌষের গান) which is Nature's call to man to come out into the open air where all is inspiring joy—the joy of work freely chosen amidst healthy surroundings as opposed to hard labour imposed from outside. The second song is Bishu's song addressed to the boatman of his visionary hope. It is a message of idealism and of the joy that liberates us, widens our sympathies, opens new vistas, makes one forget the trials and tribulations of the present and float on his boat bound for the far-off (haven). His second song sings of the sweetness of death which ends all strife and all grief by filling with glad laughter the void and tingeing emptiness with varied hues. When life's sweetness is about to dry up, it says to the woe-worn, why not fill to the brim the cup in that of death poured out of the liquid fire of the funeral pyre that alone sufficeth to annihilate the cruel agony of petty daily griefs.

His third song is addressed to *Nandini* as the waker of sorrow who flies off after just for a moment touching him so as to fill the heart with nectar and thenceforth he remains wide awake to sing ever to this breaker of his sleep. His next song has a more personal note in which Bishu indicates how the sorrow of the heart unites this side of limited existence with the side of infinity. "Cutting off all the moorings of the boat of my life," says he, "it wafts me to the shore of the unknown and inaccessible" (from which realm Bishu is once more dragged back to Yaksha Town).

We have then a duet or something like an antiphony. Bishu begins with a song of love—the last word he wants to embody in melody—a wistful cry of the sorrowing heart in the time of intense emotional yearning that sayeth from land and water "I love, I love," fraught with the message of an aching in the heart of the sky and of overflowing tears from the horizon's dark eyes. In response to this *Nandini* sings to say that in unison with that melody deep lamentation vibrates from the ocean's brink no more capable of remaining confined in its bounds and the heart of man answereth it *knows* not why in spontaneous notes with the message of oblivion as well as with idle tears and whispers of the forgotten days that are no more!

Here follows the song of longing and waiting to which we have referred before. It is exquisitely sweet. "The beloved is waiting for me to-day on the way-side full of yearning whom just for one moment I met in the dusky twilight of early dawn on some ancient day. Age after age he yearned for me alone and now in the moon's bright silver light filling all space with music we shall meet again and the veil will be lifted in a trice."

The next song (also of harvest, *i.e.*, of fruition) suggests the beginning of the end. There is an intense pathos in this song which reminds us that there is a season for mowing as there is one for sowing. We are exhorted to be active in reaping the last harvest to the full and yet have the wisdom to leave in quiet resignation what is not to our use and let it return to dust.

The concluding song is heard, after Bishu's exit, from afar which is over again the harvest song with which the whole piece commences the opening lines alone being reproduced here with a suitable modification. It is also an inspiring call from the Beyond which invites all "to come, to come,—for the joy that invites, for the bliss of it!"

(*Concluded.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

BRAHMINISM IN THE "SMRITIS"

As knowledge increases and civilization advances, it becomes necessary that certain people should specialize in certain branches of knowledge. And at a certain phase of civilization it is an inevitable result that the particular special knowledge should become hereditary. The learning of the trade or profession is impossible unless it be in the family and at the feet of the elders of the family. Apastamba says that a student shall live with his teacher for forty-eight years if he learns all the four Vedas, or a quarter less, or less by half or three-quarters less. "Twelve years should be the shortest time for his residence with his teacher." (*Apastamba*, *I. I. 2.12-16*, *S. B. E.*) When learning was imparted by word of mouth and attempted to be preserved wholly in memory such a long apprenticeship is inevitable. Though not to this extent, knowledge of arms and warfare, of agriculture and trade, required no short apprenticeship. It was difficult for anybody to leave his home and spend such a long period of his life in acquiring knowledge of any art. The home is the cheapest school, the father the best teacher in such times. And it is a universal phenomenon, that occupations tend to become more or less hereditary. Families of specialists come into existence and specialize from generation to generation in their branch. The priestly families, the warrior families, the trader families, the serf and villein families, are quite common things all over the world under such times. The lesser the apprenticeship required, the lesser hereditary the art becomes, the longer the apprenticeship required the more strictly hereditary the occupation becomes. Amongst Shudras and Vaishyas, the occupations did not assume a rigorous hereditary caste. People moved freely from the status of unskilled labour to the status of a skilled worker, from the status of a skilled worker to the status of a rich agriculturist or a prospering trader. Amongst Kshatriyas it became more difficult to acquire knowledge required for the profession. Amongst Brahmanas, it almost became impossible to be made a Brahmin. A Brahmin was almost required to be born. Even in countries where there was no prohibition of intermarriage, a clergyman's son was a clergyman; a nobleman's son, a nobleman; a cottier's or villein's son, a cottier; and a blacksmith's son, a blacksmith. It is an inevitable phase through which mankind had had to pass in every country on the globe. These hereditary occupations tend to evolve a peculiar *esprit de corps*, peculiar antipathies and sympathies, special levels of culture and standards of living and manners. Society tends to split up into hereditary classes. The caste in India is quite similar to these classes. There are, indeed, enjoined rules putting restrictions on intermarriages, but in reality it will be seen that these restrictions have received scant observance and there has been a horrible intermixture of castes or classes by intermarriages. What appears to be against intermarriages is nothing more than the difference in their manners and culture, antipathies and sympathies, considerations exactly similar to those standing in the way of intermixture of classes elsewhere. It is only the introduction of paper and press, easy communications, books and schools and colleges and all sorts of facilities for acquiring knowledge and in far shorter time and lesser expenditure that the class barriers are being broken everywhere. Castes in India were exclusive exactly like the classes elsewhere. They mixed exactly so far as it was in any case possible, they remained exclusive exactly so far as it was impossible. Howsoever intermarriages may be allowed, birds of the same feather will gather together and perpetuate differences. The facilities of our times ought not to blind us to the inevitability of the phenomenon in those early times and even now it will take pretty long before all will be brought to the same level of culture and living and ideas to admit of fusion of the classes and castes. Our antipathies and sympathies are so tenacious that they outlive their necessity.

It is exactly at this stage when occupations become hereditary and specialized that the need of knowledge of the art of living together is most felt. The ideal of Government, as Mr. H. G. Wells says, in which the ordinary man is neither the slave of an absolute monarch nor of a demagogue-ruled state, but an informed, inspired and consulted part of his community is wanted. The modern citizen must be informed first and then consulted. It is not by setting up polling booths, but by setting up schools and making literature and knowledge and news universally accessible that the way is opened from servitude and confusion to that willingly co-operative state which is the modern ideal. Votes in themselves are worthless things. "Until a man has education, a vote is a useless and dangerous weapon for him to possess." (*Outlines of History*, *Wells.*) Knowledge of civics, ethics, sociology, religion, history and morals becomes increasingly necessary to every citizen.

The wisdom of the Smritis shines at its best here. They enjoin on every twiceborn an initiation into this schooling. Unless the citizen went through his period of studentship, he could not marry and embark on the onerous duties and responsibilities of the household. Every citizen was required to show the Diploma of a Snataka. It was considered imperative to have knowledge of history and philosophy, religions and morals sufficient to enable him to co-operate willingly and whole-heartedly with his fellowman for the good of all; besides his specialized knowledge of his branch. The initiation ceremony has now become a farce, but once it was a grave reality.

And thus citizens were instructed in their duties and responsibilities, the art of co-operation and denials and roughing t up in sweet amiability. And the whole of society was looked upon as a household where everybody worked to the best of his abilities and partook of the income according to his needs.

> "Kshatriyas prosper not without Brahmanas, Brahmanas prosper not without Kshatriyas, Brahmanas and Kshatriyas being closely united prosper in this world and in the next." *(Manu, ch. 9, 322. 5, S. B. E.)*

> "The three castes shall remain under the Brahmanas' control. The Brahmana shall declare their duties and the King shall carry them into practice." *(Vasistha, ch. I, Dutt's Trans.)*

When knowledge of the art of living together became increasingly necessary for efficiently working together, it is no wonder that Brahmans, the specialists in that science rose to pre-eminence and became the supreme teachers and a paramount power.

V.—Old Theories of Heredity.

"The Veda declares also one's offspring to be immortality in this verse :

> " 'In thy offspring thou art born again, that, mortal, is thy immortality.' Now it can also be perceived by the senses that the father has been reproduced separately in the son ; for the likeness of a father and son is even visible, only their bodies are different." (*Apastamba, 2.9.24, 1-2, S.B.E.*) "A man deficient in limbs begets a son who possesses the full number of limbs." (*1.10.29. 11, ibid.*) "By virtue of pedigree even a horse becomes estimable, therefore men should wed wives from a respectable family." (*Vasistha, ch. I, Dutt's Transl.*)

The Garbhopanishad, cited in Mitakshara, says that of the six parts of the body, three are produced by father, three by mother ; from father, bones, muscles and brain ; from the mother, skin, flesh and blood. The agnatic relations called Sakulyas are those of the same bones, because 'sakula' means in Sanskrit 'of the same bone,' and as bone element comes from the father, the term is fitly applied to the agnatic relations.

This is the science of eugenics known at that time. The modern science of eugenics, after careful observation has come to very strikingly similar conclusions. The sanctity of virginity and bachelorhood, one man and one wife for life, is being preached as a desideratum. The modern science says that man and woman by mutual intercourse are inoculated mutually by the virus of each other. They give the result of an experiment where a mare was first impregnated by a Zebra and then by a stallion and at the second time, a striped animal was produced. Apastamba says :

> "A wife is similar to the vessel which contains the curds for the sacrifice; for if one makes impure milk curdle by mixing it with whey and water in a milk vessel and stirs it, no sacrificial rite can be performed with the curds produced from that. Just so, no intercourse can be allowed with the impure seed which comes from an Abhishasta." (*1.10.29.13-14.*, *S.B.E.*)

And thus Apastamba and Harit refute the opinion that the offspring does not inherit the taint of their parents.

After this theory we come to the celebrated seed and field theory of Manu. Manu says :

> "By the sacred tradition the woman is declared to be the soil, the man is declared to be the seed; the production of all corporeal beings takes place through the union of the soil with the seed. On comparing the seed and the receptacle of the seed, the seed is declared to be more important; for the offspring of all created beings is marked by the characteristics of the seed. Whatever kind of seed is sown in a field, prepared in due season, a plant of that same kind marked with the peculiar qualities of the seed, springs up in it. This earth, indeed, is called the primeval womb of created beings; but the seed develops not in its development any properties of the womb. In this world seeds of different kinds, sown at the proper time in the land, even in one field, come forth each according to its kind. The rice called Vrihi, and that called Shali, mudga-beans, sesasum, māsha-beans, barley, leeks and sugarcane, all spring up according to their seed. That one plant should be sown and another be produced cannot happen, whatever seed is sown, a plant of that kind even comes forth." (*Ch 9. 33-35-40*, *S.B.E.*)

The original idea is not of any of these kinds. Laxity in conjugal relations and promiscuity apper to have been universal. Parashara says : "A woman like the earth can suffer no defilement." A woman forcibly ravished or submitting under fear of being overpowered, could, after practice of light penances, regain her purity "after her next monthly period" according to Parāshara. Parashara, indeed, prescribes no expiation for a wanton woman who is faithless to her lord, but this rule of conjugal fidelity is a later rule. The original rule is that the woman suffers no defilement. (*Parashara Samhita, ch. 10, 24,25,26, Dutt's Transl.*) The list of sons given in the Smritis is revolting to our modern ideas and our Rishis have also condemned all these offspring of illegitimate cohabitation: 'Kānina' or the 'one whom a damsel secretly bears in the house of her father,' 'sahodha,' a son of a pregnant bride taken knowingly or unknowingly; 'Gudhotpanna,' a son whose father is not known and is born secretly, these sons were taken to belong to the man who was the lord of the women or became their husband. (*Manu, ch. 9, 170, 172, 173, S.B.E.*) The utmost that the early view could go was to an idea of property in the offspring. They did not know that the offspring was tainted or inherited any qualities of their parents. Men considered themselves as lawful fathers of all the legitimate and illegitimate offspring of his woman. As the woman belonged to him; so did her offspring. Apastamba quotes a *Gatha* which is very characteristic of early thought on this matter. He says:

> "Now, they quote also the following Gāthā from the Veda: Having considered myself formerly a father, I shall not now allow any longer my wives to be approached by other men, since they have declared that the son belongs to the begetter in the world of Yama. The giver of the seed carries off the son in Yama's world: therefore they guard their wives fearing the seed of strangers. Carefully watch over the procreation of your children, lest stranger seed be sown on your soil. In the next world the son belongs to the begetter, an imprudent husband makes the begetting of children vain for himself."

Apastamba admits that "the transgression of the law and violence are found amongst the ancient sages"; but he says that "they committed no sin on account of their great lustre" and says that a man of later time following their ways would fall. (*2.6.13.7-10, S.B.E.*) The Gāthā quoted gives the best evidence of the mind of man on this matter in those days. He was startled to find that the offspring was not his and gravely warned that it would not be his at least in the Yama's world, howsoever it may be his in this world.

Manu also gives hints of this state of things. Says he :

> "As with cows, mares, female camels, slave-girls, buffalo-cows, she-goats and ewes, it is not the begetter but the owner who obtains the offspring, even thus it is with the wives of others Those who having no property in a field but possessing seed corn, sow it in another's soil, do indeed not receive the grain of the crop which may spring up. If one man's bull were to beget a hundred calves on another man's cows, they would belong to the owner of the cows; in vain would the bull have spent his strength ; thus men who have no marital property in women, but sow their seed in the soil of others, benefit the owner of the woman, but the giver of the seed reaps no advantage. If no agreement with respect to the crop has been made between the owner of the field and the owner of the seed, the benefit clearly belongs to the owner of the field, the receptacle is more important than the seed. But if by a special contract a field is made over to another for sowing, then the owner of the seed and the owner of the soil are both considered in this world as sharers of the crop." (*Ch. 9, 48-53, S. B. E.*)

Manu admits conflict of opinion on the point. He says :

> "They all say that the male issue of a woman belongs to the lord, but with respect to the meaning of the term lord, the revealed texts differ; some call the begetter of the child, the lord, others declare that it is the owner of the soil." (*Ch. 9, 32, S. B. E.*)

Gautama has also to say on this point :

> "The child belongs to him who begat it, except if an agreement to the contrary has been made. And the child begotten at a living husband's request on his wife belogs to the husband, but if it was begotten by a stranger, it belongs to the latter, or to both, the natural father and the husband of the mother. But being reared by the husband, it belongs to him." (*Ch. 18, 9-14, S. B. E.*)

Narada Smriti gives an identical discussion as that in Manu. (*See Ch. 12, 54-60, S. B. E.*)

The whole train of reasoning, the similes, the ideas and sentiments are so revolting to our ideas of conjugal morality and fidelity, the sacredness of the marital tie that they evoke an irrepressible loathing and scarce dare provoke a smile in contempt of their ignorance. But one must grow calm and watch primitive man and his ideas. Amongst the Romans the loan of a wife for begetting children was considered a high honour to the lender as bespeaking his greatness in possessing such coveted soil. In Babylon, virgins sat in a temple waiting to be chosen by male visitors and after the immoral lapse took a vow of chastity. The ideas of conjugal morality and fidelity were lax in the extreme in early days in all countries. It is by patient observation and incessant teaching that mankind has been brought up to its present moral plane. Let us be careful, lest we lapse into our primitive beastly nature.

The earliest idea about the progeny then is connected with the idea of property in the woman and ergo in her offspring. Vasistha bluntly says :

> " Man, formed of blood and semen, proceeds from his mother and his father as his cause. Therefore the parents have power to give, to sell and to abandon their son." (*Ch. 13, Dutt's Trans.*)

The idea of property could go to no more barbarous length. The offspring belonged to the owner of the woman. The woman could, however, be leased out for begetting of children by others. Man had no higher idea of his wife or children.

Slowly man began to be struck with the likeness of the parents with their offspring. Apastamba has been quoted above showing how with our senses we could see that father and son were alike. Manu says :

> " In some cases the seed is more distinguished, and in some the womb of the female, but when both are equal, the offspring is most highly esteemed." (*Ch. 9, 34, S. B. E.*)

Narada also says :

> " Grain cannot be produced without a field, nor can it be produced without seed. Therefore offspring belongs by right to both, the father as well as the mother." (*Ch. 12, 59, S. B. E.*)

This shows that man began to understand that the offspring inherited the qualities of both of its parents. The Garbhopanishad above cited actually gives which things come from the mother and which, from the father.

A later phase of the thought was reached when sages found that the offspring took more after the father than after its mother. This discovery immediately leads to the final theory of heredity which our Rishis evolved and which modern savants have not yet arrived at but are stumbling up to. We shall discuss it later on. For the present we are concerned with the seed theory of the father. Manu says :

> "The husband, after conception of his wife, becomes an embryo and is born again of her ; for that is the wifehood of a wife (*jayā*) that he is born (*jāyate*) again by her. Whatever be the qualities of the man with whom a woman is united according to the law, such qualities even she assumes, like a river united with the ocean. Akshamala, a woman of the lowest birth, being united to Vasistha and Sarangi being united to Mandapāl, became worthy of honour. These and other females of low birth have attained eminence in this world by the respective good qualities of the husbands." (*Ch. 9, 8.22-24, S. B. E.*)

Manu further says :

> "Some sages declare the seed to be more important, and others the field ; again others assert that the seed and the field are equally important ; but the legal decision on this point is as follows : Seed sown on barren ground, perishes in it, a fertile field also, in which no good seed is sown, will remain barren. As through the power of the seed sons born of animals became sages who are honoured and praised, hence the seed is declared to be more important." (*Ch. 10, 70-72, S. B. E.*)

And thus, by hook or crook, prominence was given to the seed. Similes are most dangerous when used as proofs. Seed and soil, there is no choosing between the two. They are almost on an equal footing; but the facts observed to happen were such that they could not be explained on the seed and soil analogy and hence we find Manu deciding in favour of the seed on such flimsy proofs as animal-born sages. Manu knew the necessity and importance of both soil and seed (*Ch. 10. 71*) and he could not draw any analogy from this phenomenon to illustrate the phenomenon of human offspring. The human offspring did, indeed, turn more after the father's style and less like its mother and soil and seed analogy was found deficient to explain the fact. On whatever ground the preference was based, the preference however was justified by facts of actual experience.

This theory had two very important results; firstly, it sanctioned intermixture of classes or castes, and secondly, it resulted in the lowering of woman's status. Men originally as if by instinct chose only those women for their partners in life who were at the same level of intelligence and culture as the men. This occurs in every society where false ideas of superiority are not inculcated. And between such equal partners there is bound to be that ideal where each is "an informed, inspired and consulted part of the community," as Mr. Wells says, "and the way is opened from servitude and confusion to that willingly co-operative state which is the modern ideal." The restrictions on intermarriages between the classes or castes, whether promulgated in law or not, do, by the healthiest of instincts in man and woman, exist; and marriages between two individuals, at very different levels of culture and intelligence, take place very rarely. But when dogmas are set up and taught incessantly, men slowly disregard these instincts and though the healthy instincts do operate, we find increasingly large number of instances where those good instincts are disregarded. Manu, indeed, says that "for the first marriage of twice-born men, wives of equal caste are recommended"; but he made concessions in favour of women of the lower classes but amongst the twice-born only, "for those who through desire proceed to marry again." (*Ch. 3, 12, S.B.E.*) Yajnavalkya also recommended wives of equal castes but gave sanction to marriages amongst the twice-born between males of a higher caste and females of a lower caste (*3.57.55*). Both these Rishis are deadly down on taking of Shudra wives. Yajnavalkya in Shloka 3.56, admits that there is an opinion admitting Shudra wives but says that he does not agree in as much as the husband is said to be born in the womb of his wife. Manu says:

> "A Shudra woman is not mentioned even in any ancient story as the first wife of a Brahman or of a Kshatriya, though they lived in the greatest distress" (*Ch. 3, 14, S. B. E.*) So also Shaukha (*Ch. 4, 7-11, Dutt's trans.*)

The Shudra women were shut out altogether, but amongst women of the twice-born, the lower class woman could marry a higher class male. Unions between two unequal partners took place in total disregard of the limitations and qualifications laid down by wise Rishis and the barriers set between the twice-born and the Shudras were also swept off by the downward plunge. Bad things take place rarely if there is check of strong social opinion but when the learned promulgate a concession and justify it on seed theory, men take courage and justify their actions on these authorities of the wise. What was a mere concession becomes a right and virtuous thing. And unions began to be countenanced on its worst side. The better way is to allow high class females to wed with low class males, from the point of view of the cultural environment of the children. The children go to school at the start with their mother and imbibe the social heritage of the mother first. Man is more and more excellent simply on account of the richness of social heritage and hence analogies drawn from animal world are of little help. It may be that the stud-bull or stallion will produce the best animals, no matter how the females are. But that is because of physical qualities. In man, the intellectual faculties and nurture are of utmost importance. Unions of men and women of equal culture and intelligence are, indeed, very much to be desired, but if at all concessions be made, it may be made in favour of males of lower order and females of higher order. This view would sound most abominable to many, but the disgust which it evokes is akin to that evoked by unions amongst different classes. What I mean to say is that when we have to choose between two evils of a high order, let us choose the lesser, by howsoever small a degree it may be lesser. If our healthier instincts revolt, let them revolt against both equally and if we want to accommodate our high instincts, we had better make peace with the less abominable of the two. The intermixture of the classes or castes, when it comes to unions between two at very different levels of culture, is always to be avoided. It always drags down the whole fabric, as we witness in Central America the home of mongrel breeds; and when castes denote different levels of cultures, intermarriages ought certainly not to take place. The seed theory exploded the instincts in the wrong direction and dragged down the whole fabric. And as the inevitable result, women became again mere chattels without soul, property of man, as they at first were but were slowly coming on to importance.

VI.—Modern Theory of Heredity.

Vernon Kellogg, in the *New Republic* has well written as follows:

> "This kind of evolution could not begin until man, through the development of brain, had attained by biological evolution a capacity to acquire much knowledge, and by registering it through speech and writing to pass it on by social inheritance to succeeding generations. This storing up and passing on of knowledge is the basis of social evolution, and social evolution became and is the basis for a rapid progress in human capacity for doing. Now social evolution can be controlled and is in fact so controlled and determined, largely by man himself. His future change or progress is in his own hands. Altruism, or mutual aid, is a recognized and powerful biological factor in evolution. Altruism is a factor in human life which can be developed and increased by a right direction of social evolution."

In the words of Stopford A. Brooke,

> "Divine and dreadful is the great story of humanity, which beginning in remotest antiquity and in struggle out of the animal, has continued to this day, and may continue yet a million years. But always it has been a progress: the growth of intellect and conscience of law and morality, of imagination and art, of reverence and worship, of the idea of God and the idea of perfection: of strife towards a lofty destiny, in which none have perished utterly, none have sinned beyond forgiveness, none have forfeited immortality."

That mankind has progressed is beyond doubt true, whatever men of Dean Inge's type may think. How he progressed is yet a matter of discussion and doubt. Prof. McDougall says:

> "Every human being and therefore every community of human beings, every populace, inherits from its ancestry a stock of innate qualities which enable it to enjoy, to sustain, to promote, a civilization of a certain degree of complexity. As civilization advances it makes greater and greater demands on these qualities, requires their exercise and development in ever fuller degree, until it approaches a point at which its complexity outruns the possibility of the innate qualities. At the same time it tends positively to impair these qualities; so that as the demands increase, the latent reserves of human quality are diminished. A time comes when the supply no longer equals the demand, that moment is the turning point of the curve from which the downward plunge begins. The great condition of the decline of any civilization is the inadequacy of the qualities of the people who are the bearers of it." (*Is America safe for Democracy*, 2, *McDougall.*)

This is broadly a fixed-fund theory of innate qualities. Prof. McDougall, indeed, admits that the fund is added to or subtracted from in course of time but maintains that the change is negligible. Says he:

> "The combination of qualities peculiar to each race was formed and fixed during long ages of the pre-historic period compared with which the historic period of some 2500 years is very brief. They are subject to only slow changes but they do change if factors making for change continue to operate in the same direction during many generations. Innate qualities are in the main very persistent and if modifications or qualities acquired by use are transmitted, the accumulation of such

effects is in most, probably all cases, a very slight and slow and gradual process requiring many generations to produce an appreciable degree of effect." (*Ibid.*)

The mere fact that this fund can be added to, is of the utmost importance and hope for mankind. In fact this very fixed fund is said to have been an accumulation of "the long ages of the pre-historic period." We can imagine a man, in howsoever remote an antiquity who must have started with the zero of experience and knowledge. He must have added to his 'nothing' as he trudged on his pilgrimage of life, something, though that something may have been next to nothing. His offspring must have inherited that something and added on his mite of experience and knowledge. And so on until the end of the so-called pre-historic period. After that also there has been going on accumulation, though bit by bit, of knowledge and experience. We are at least better than our ancestors; and after a time, a very long time, may be, we shall be perfect and God-like. This is a doctrine of hope and not despair for the race.

(*To be continued*)

D. R. VAIDYA

THE POLITICS OF A PARAMHANSA

The Paramhansa Sivanarayan Swami was practically illiterate. With difficulty he could write his name in Hindi script. His political views may not be instructive to all but owing to the nature of their origin will have an interest of their own.

A brief statement of his fundamental teachings will serve as a helpful introduction to the special subject of present treatment.

Social order, inclusive of the political, must according to him be based upon faith in God, as the Creator and moral Governor of the Universe. As the Creator of all He is equally related to all. As the moral Governor of all He wills equally the well-being of all. Creation is wonderfully diverse, especially in individual existence. No repetition taints individual diversity. No two individuals are identical as individuals while the type they all belong to is one. And the oneness of the type, recognised or not, is the foundation of the moral order by God imposed on His creation. Individual existence necessarily implies movements, individually separate, but all directed towards well-being. No action in any individual is possible except for the fulfilment of some want. Intelligence, in that stage of development where moral consciousness is possible, implies the consciousness of want as the motive of action and the adaptation of means to the one end, namely, the fulfilment of the want. The adoption of verbal mnemonics will be convenient for further progress of thought. By intelligence is to be understood the consciousness of what is and the relation between things that are while the consciousness of want, the impulse for its fulfilment and the anticipated and realised gratification or disappointment accompanying such fulfilment or its opposite may be generically termed emotion.

The persistence of movement towards such fulfilment may be called the will. These three in their relation to the individual may be collectively designated the mind. The individual mind, conscious of the moral governorship of the Creator of all, necessarily attempts to reduce the idea into thought moving to action. The first step in this direction is the consciousness of the type to which individuals belong. This necessarily implies a more complete realisation of individual nature, resulting in the conviction that the well-being of the individual cannot be secured by what offends against the type, forming, so to say, the substance of which the individuals are but forms or modes of existence. To offend against any individual is to offend against the type of which the offender is also a form and the offence is therefore an offence against the offender himself. On the other hand, where an individual is made, against his will, to conform to the type it is conducive to his well-being and as such is accepted by all individuals, conscious of the type, as lawful punishment. In other words, a help to the punished individual to realise the type to which he belongs and turn his mind to the true direction of his well-being. In the Scriptures, accepted by Brahmans as universally authoritative, the idea touched on above, has an attractive poetical expression. God's creative agency is personified as Brahmā or the archangel of creation and is called "Jivaghanah," literally meaning the aggregate of all individuals. On the acceptance of Jivaghanah as the true self, by transference to him of natural self-love, the individual crosses beyond good and evil. In other words, such an individual spontaneously acts as the representative of all individuals and there is not, and cannot be, anywhere any conflict with this motive of action from which alone can arise evil. And as he is not conscious of doing anything for another's sake the sense of merit is abolished. The hand has no sense of merit when picking out a thorn from the foot. This thought appears very difficult, almost impossible, to be grasped by non-Brahman critics of the Brahman religion. They think the doctrine means the abolition of the sense of right and wrong in individual life and the enthronement of self-will as the sole rule of conduct whereas it really means the ever-doing of right for the joy it is, without any thought beyond it. The selfishness of Jivaghanah is the well-being of all individuals. Translating the doctrine into current idiom one would say that when in an individual his will is in harmony with the will of the Creator of all his movement, in every plane of existence, it is self-determined or God-determined and therefore not characterisable as right or wrong, neither of which can exist without the possibility of the other. Similarly the devotee is helped to assimilate the incomprehensibility of God, accepted by all religions, claiming to be revealed, by the ascription to Him in Brahmanical scriptures of contradictory attributes, such as "He moves, He moves not, He is distant, He is near, He is other than righteousness (dharma), He is other than unrighteousness," and a multitude of similar expressions. In the absence of such constant reminders the profession of a belief in God's incomprehensibility is almost sure to degenerate into idle words, leaving no impression on the mind which thus becomes an exile from super-rational conviction or true faith.

The relation between faith and character is declared by the Bhagavad Gita (Ch. xii, vv. 13, *et seq.*) in the following words :

> "Hating no creature, full of brotherly love, and compassionate, devoid of my-ness, devoid of egotism, equal to suffering and enjoyment, forgiving, ever content, of tranquil heart, with nature subjugated, firm in intent, and with thought and faith given up to Me, whoever is My devotee is dear unto Me."

The idea is further elucidated by Sureswar, Sankar's immediate successor and the first Mohunt or abbot of the Sringerí monastery, founded by the latter. "In regard to him, who has obtained the true vision of the spirit the qualities of

'Hating no creature and the like' are his without effort and not as a form of devotion."—*Naiskarmasiddhih.*

To sum up. The quality, accompanying true faith in God and really forming another aspect of it, is a gift and not an acquisition. Its short name is Love called in Sanskrit "samadrishti." The dynamic or practical aspect of Love is the law of reason, shortly expediency, which negatives both inappropriateness and waste of energy.

The foregoing observations, rationally tested, will perhaps, be found a helpful introduction to a statement of the political views of the Paramhansa Siva Narayan Swami. They furnish a ready and rational test of all practical opinion, political and social. The ensuing citations are summarised from his published teachings in Bengali. The English translation is faithful but not literal:

GENERAL DUTY OF THOSE IN POWER.

"In ignorance men think that social life is wholly distinct from spiritual life which is attainable by the anchorite alone and unattainable by a social being. Thus convinced, house-holders in despair remain prisoners to things of the world, in life and in death. While those, wearing external marks of asceticism, despise the others and are proud of self-torture. The two classes can never meet in equality of love. Thus arise contending sects, obscuring true spirituality. They know not that life in God is one, however different its external expression... ..Where there is no capacity there is no duty. God does not expect from an individual the use of what he has not received from God. By the application to the well-being of all the gifts of God the duty of the individual is performed and the end of his existence attained. Those charged with the governance of people, those gifted with wealth, lordship, learning and intelligence have special potencies. Their burdens of duty are therefore special. Their duties, performed according to the design of God in creation, fills the world with well-being. There are three kinds of motive of action, namely, love, gain and fear. The single motive of action of those, whose love is God and who are therefore beloved of Him, is equal-sighted love of His creatures. They not only act in love but teach others to do likewise. Superfluous for them is man-made law. But their number is small. The gain of something desired or the fear of its loss is the usual motive of human action. Men of this description cannot be devoted to duty except by reward and punishment under laws, enforced by the specially gifted classes referred to above. But such laws cannot produce the wished-for result unless laid down and worked with wise and loving discrimination. No good can come in the absence of such discrimination. Kingship is not to subjugate others, wealth to impoverish and wisdom to befool others. If God had intended His special gifts for their recipients' personal gratification their capacity for self-gratification, their length of life would have been without human measure. But naked all come and naked all go into the fire or the earth. And numbered are the days of all. The pleasures of life pall and to bitterness turn. That all may perform the journey of life in peace and contentment is the design of God. Those with power to promote that end are punished by the just sentence of God for misuse of those powers. Justice and helpfulness constitute the rule of conduct, having Divine approval. In obedience to that rule those, qualified for it, should labour for the civilizing education in all things of all placed in their care. Thus will be secured the well-being of all and the true end of existence gained. A contrary course can only lead to a contrary result."

Amrita Sagar (*2nd Ed., pp. 227-232.*)

THE SPECIAL DUTY OF RULERS OF PEOPLE.

"King's officers go about to detect the offences of people to the end that the same be punished. So must they go about to discover the wants of people to the end that they be relieved. The agriculturist in want of land, cattle or seed must be supplied therewith and similar treatment be meted out to the businessman in want of capital, the proceeds of taxation, adjusted to the capacity of the payer, being utilised for the purpose. Inflictions by visitations of God should be relieved, irrespective of nationality or other political considerations. The paramount duty of rulers is the preservation of peace. And this is impossible when particular groups of people are allowed in the name of religion to ascribe special sanctity to natural objects or to act in opposition to other similar groups. This consideration deserves the special attention of rulers. The welfare of those whose livelihood for the moment depends on the existence of such practices also deserves special consideration.

It is an important duty of those who rule peoples to provide refuges, dispensaries and hospitals for the benefit of man and beast. All are creatures of God, they issue from Him, subsist in Him and, though unseen, abide in Him for ever. He is equal towards them all as parents to their children.

Justice requires the proper distribution of reward and punishment but no offender should be so punished as to afflict with suffering those dependent on him. Rewards must be impartially distributed without any consideration of race or nationality. Speedy destruction invariably follows conduct affected by such considerations. Of this there is no doubt."

WAR AND PEACE.

"For sport and amusement men set beasts to fight with one another, even unto death. Nations fight with one another for glory or gain. Those, lost to faith in God, rejoice in wars. Casting away pride and conceit reflect with calm sobriety.

Men are all equally related to God. Have steadfast faith in Him. Act in obedience to the Divine design of creation. Flout not that design in pride of power. This is the duty of mankind in general but more especially of the holder of the sceptre of power. The lion-hearted ruler, thus acting, is beloved of God. Putting false glory behind him and with what the blind of spirit call disgrace before him he goes forth to preserve all things in moving towards their God-appointed end. He knows in his heart that an attempt to wrest things from their God-appointed end, to work against the fulfilment by them of the purpose of their creation is the only true disgrace. The hog fattens on filth. The self-centred man is worse than a hog. Movement towards the God-appointed end is peace. The opposite is war, be it large or be it small.

And yet there is a place for war in the design of creation. When the sovereign forgets the purpose with which sovereignty is created and violates the law of God, by attempting to obstruct the application of things to the end for which they exist, when he attempts to draw away his people from the path of righteousness, defiles the purity of earth, water, fire and air, stands in the way of individuals freely working for the supreme bliss in obedience to God's command then all equal-sighted (samadarsi) men, sovereign or subject, must arm for war, dethrone the kingly rebel against God and hold him in subjection. If in his own person he realises the evil he has wrought on his subjects his throne shall be restored to him. Thus, in obedience to God's love, the sovereign and the subject shall all live in peace.

To promote mutual sympathy and good will between subject and sovereign the ancient Brahmanical law required princes and inheritors of power to spend the early years of manhood in Brahmacharya, leading the common life and thus personally realising the conditions of life, high and low. Thus were they prepared to feel for all and render them service."

(*Amrita Sāgar, pp.* 251-255.)

In conclusion the following extract is cited from an English version of the Paramhansa's teachings on this subject, published in his life time under the title "A Word in Season."

"It is the duty of all men, with purity of body, mind and senses to labour for the world's good. Let each, according to his capacity, work for the good of his family, village, town, district, province, country and the world at large. Let him, amongst you, who is incapable of anything more, achieve his own good. Thus acting you will render the cry 'bande mātaram' purposeful and fulfil the command of the real Mother. The well-being of her children, the inhabitants of the earth, consist in fulfilling her command. Else, the cry becomes a source of hatred and contention and charged with the world's ill.

God wears the mask of sovereignty to rule the people for their own good. Men desire sovereignty. But few understand the qualifications which the aspirant must present to find favour in God's sight. Sovereignty may be bestowed on one man or a body of men collectively. The sovereign must be 'equal-sighted,' (samadarsi) towards all, absolutely just and impartial. The sovereign must look upon his subjects with love and reverence due to the representatives of God and his own soul and with sleepless, active zeal labour for their welfare in every way. Looking upon the sovereign as the representative of God and their own souls, it is the duty of the subjects to promote the general well-being, which must necessarily include their own individually, by co-operating with Him in loving obedience, with sincerity and without reserve. Thus acting the sovereign and the subject will secure the favour of that Being to whom alone the salutation 'Bande mātaram' can be most appropriately applied and by that Being's favour peace and welfare will come to all. Sober reflection will show that man's power is by delegation from God. Those alone will rule on whom the power to rule has been divinely conferred. If the sovereign violates his duty afflictions will visit him from man and God and take away his power. If the subjects violate their duty they will be scourged with a whip of scorpion. When the sovereign punishes the subjects in obedience to duty, by God laid down, the punishment is from God, a purifying fire. If the subjects, in obedience to duty, divinely ordained, punish a sovereign it is of like effect and significance. Neither sovereign nor subject, except to his hurt, can transgress the law of righteousness set forth above. The all-comprehending Supreme Being, regarded as light, is one and secondless and there is none to gainsay Him in aught. Nothing can trouble the sovereign He upholds on the throne and none can maintain the sovereignty He wills to destroy.

It is by the ordinance of this Being, that such a diversity of products is shown in the different countries of the world; what is abundant in one is unknown in another. This is necessary for the proper appreciation of the gifts of God. If God is obeyed then export and import trade must be based upon a mutual desire for the fulfilment of each other's wants. By the interdependence of countries God strings them together for the good of all. Apply all things to their God-appointed end. It is the special duty of possessors of power and wealth to preserve this law. Thus acting the stream of life will flow unimpeded and the good of all will be secured thereby and the sovereign and the subject, high and low, will rejoice thereat. A contrary course entails punishment both from man and God. This is the real truth that the all-comprehending Supreme Being Om, manifested as the light, including in Himself sun, moon and all individuals, male and female, is the one Reality or Substance, self-manifest and dispenser of all good. This Being alone is the world's father, mother, teacher and the one object of adoration of all. All eyes are struck blind when He withdraws His light by night. When He withdraws sentience all individuals pass into deep slumber where thought is not. When He withdraws the breath of life all bodies decay in death. Struck by His lightning-power the world is burnt to ashes or crushed into dust. A stirring of His subterranean fire will wipe out proud cities and empires. Away from Him whom have you imagined as the recipient of your worship with the cry of 'Bande mātaram?' Besides Him no adorable mother is, was or can be. Accept this, the unshakable truth. Seek after the truth with discrimination and you will soon perceive who it is whom you have imagined as the mother to receive your words of devotion. The prayers of one man of true devotion to the real Mother, or, 'equal-sighted' wisdom will move Her with all Her powers to the rescue of the world, groaning in misery. Nothing has as yet been lost. Be 'equal-sighted' and put your feet forward to establish the reign of righteousness wherein defeat is unknown. For the Mother will be ever with you, scattering blessings with both hands."[1]

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

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[1] An account in English, of Sivanarayan and his earlier teachings, is to be found in *Indian Spirituality* (London: Luzac & Co.; Calcutta: R. Cambray & Co., 1907).

SOME SIGNIFICANT INDIAN ANIMALS

From the most remote times, animals have been associated with the manifestation of the supernatural in the more primitive minds of the world.

The eastern imagination has created a horde of beasts, birds and reptiles, which are the denizens of a phantasmagoric domain; they have fashioned an "Unnatunal History" of fabulous creatures destined to inhabit the realms of the earth, air and water—griffons, dolphins, sea-serpents, krakens, dragons, unicorns and a variety of strange creatures undreamed of by the naturalist.

The flights of the oriental conceptions have carried them far afield in fantastic lands; a world has been peopled with monsters and half-human beasts. These strange creatures have been deified or given at least semi-divinity, such as *Garuda*, the bird-man; *Yali*, the horse-monster; *Rukh*, the Eagle-King; *Jetrayan*, the Vulture-King, *Bucentaur*, the Buffalo-King, and others. *Vishnu* in his various incarnations, or avataras, assumed the shapes of the fish, the tortoise, the boar, and thence on up into the human forms. This legend has been the fountain-head of the belief in India that animals have souls and are given the right to enter Heaven. This idea is, of course, contrary to the orthodox Christian beliefs which do not give animals souls. However, some religions take a soul away from a woman and give it to animal, so there we are, in a Babel of confused and inconsistent ideas!

But in order that man may show his superiority over the animals of the lower plane, or at least that he should impress the layman to that extent, the Priesthood, the witch-doctors from the Jungle, and others of that ilk, profess, modestly, to be able to exorcise the malign forces and have powers over his beastly creations of the supernatural world, For the domination of the natural world, there are ascetics, holy-men, and your humble snake-charmer, who claim to have power over reptiles and beasts of the known world.

In the old art of India, in sculpture, painting, or carving, the animal world was freely drawn upon to supply subjects of decoration. It was a primitive and natural instinct in the early artist to use the natural objects about him for his models and inspirations. In cave and tope, temple and palace, we see the sculptured representations of animals, both in their natural and supernatural forms; monkeys, elephants, buffaloes, tigers, antilopes, peacocks and snakes are depicted with faithful accuracy of drawing. Birds are frequently used with conventional designs or fantastic forms; the lines of a swan, a peacock, a kite, a dove or bulbul lend themselves to graceful and artistic treatment. In the Ajanta Caves, the elephant has been more completely used as a fresco subject than anywhere else in India. He is depicted in every conceivable attitude and action and, cumbersome animal that he is, the elephant is, none the less, drawn with a wonderful grace and skill.

In many ancient temples are frescoes and decorations of animals, birds and men; all grouped together in an harmonious scheme, graded according to size and shape. The elephant is usually used as the base of decoration, and rising in tiers, come the tiger, the lion, the men, the monkey, and lastly, the birds. The swan is one of the sacred vehicles of *Sarasvati*, the Indian Goddess of Learning and the Arts, and is used to express the soul in allegorical painting. The element of religion has entered into the presentation of animals and birds in art, just as it dominates the theories and conception of music.

Lakshmi, the Hindu Goddess of Beauty, is attended by elephants who pour streams of water upon her; *Surya*, the Sun-God, is depicted driving his heavenly chariot of horses, as is Phœbus in the Greek mythology; *Shiva*, is accompanied by his bull; *Kama*, is attended by parrots and fish; *Ganesh* is invariably seen with a rat; *Durga* rides the lion which is her vehicle; *Krishna* is depicted in the company of cows, and so on, down the line of Gods and Goddesses, all of whom have some animal whom they use as an emblem, or totem.

The presentation of animals and human life in any form of sculpture or decorative art, has been prohibited by the Koran; but the Buddhists follow the Hindu idea of using animals in art forms. The old Moghuls were fond of various forms of decoration in which the figures of animals were freely used. At Potiphur-Sikri, Amber, old Delhi and other deserted cities, one may observe many images of beasts used in architectural decoration. The picture is richest, however, in Hindu temples, where the fancies run riot, as for instance, in the Black Pagoda at Puri.

The treatment of animals in art followed the conventions of the time; hence the modern drawing of an elephant, a camel, or tiger differs considerably from the ancient conception. Mohamedans have twisted their Persian letters into the shapes of beasts and birds and woven the fantastic forms of animal life into prayers and poems, in a subtle evasion of law.

The artists of the various courts have preserved a more or less common conception of animals in curves, arches and graceful lines, using tigers, lions, elephants and so on, in decorative forms in sculpture, tapestry, painting and embroidery. An infinite variety of small models of animals and birds may be found in any Native Bazaar, which are used as objects of decoration or in conjunction with the Pantheon as vehicles of the Deities.

In Hindu temples the Bull of *Shiva* is represented in conventional form; along with sacred cows, monkeys, the seven-headed cobra of *Vishnu*: the tiger, the swan and so on *ad infinitum*. The inevitable intrusion of the modern art form has brought new ideas into India's old conceptions of decoration, but the old-world's fantastic and unique representations of animals are much more interesting as imaginative examples of characteristic Indian imagery.

The persistence of the ancient types, which are traced back into remote times and associated with the mythology of the Hindu, are evident, not only in plastic art, but in the histories of the everyday domesticated and wild animals of India's modern zoology. The animals in most common use in India to-day, the cow, the elephant, the camel, the goat and so on, are all more or less glorified with an individual story which clothes them in elusive garments of romance and mystery, and makes them the replicas and living prototypes of the old-world animals which were the associates and creatures of the high Gods on Mt. Meru.

The Sacred Cow.

First, in order of importance comes the "Sacred Cow," that most useful of India's domesticated animals. She is a powerful factor in the life of the agriculturist, and her products furnish not only milk, ghi, curds and cheese, but the fuel which is used to prepare the meals of the majority of the people. In the wide spaces of the country, the presence of cattle do not intrude upon the vision because they fit in naturally with the rural scenery, but on the main thoroughfares of the large cities, crowding the pedestrian off the very streets themselves, they seem altogether different. They are allowed to invade the busiest sections of the city of Calcutta, obstruct traffic and calmly lie down right in the middle of the roadway or on the sidewalk, using the pavements in front of hotels, theatres, restaurants, or other public places as a stable. Imagine a cow, or group of cows, occupying the space immediately in front of the entrances to the Savoy, the Astor or any important Western Caravansery! Or picture to yourself your feelings on finding a large Brahminy bull planked across the entrance of your favourite hat-shop! Yet that is exactly what ones does in India, and the reason is, of course, the sanctity of the Cow who is suffered to roam at will in town or country, bazaar or park.

On the broad spaces of the Maidan, the Central Park of Calcutta, one sees, daily, a thousand head of cattle grazing peacefully, to say nothing of sheep, goats and sometimes buffaloes: The British Government, having maintained the policy of non-interference with religious beliefs, are placed in an awkward position in regard to the cow-nuisance in cities like Calcutta where there is a large European population.

The cow subject is one which innocent enough at the start soon achieved the importance of a fetish with the imaginative and superstitious Hindu, whose powers of exaggeration are inconceivable. And so the cow, an inoffensive, patient and lovable animal in its place, grew in greatness with each succeeding generation's embellishment of the subject, until it became "Sacred," a word too commonly used and too little understood in this country of easy phrases. Millions of people here in India consider it the most heinous of crimes to kill a cow, and execrate the names of Christians and Mohamedans alike because they are not averse to eating the flesh of this particular quadruped. This national prejudice has been fostered for centuries, and cow-killing has been the cause of many a riot and much blood-shed between the Hindus and the Muslims.

In Kashmir, and some other Native States, the penalty for killing a cow is, or was, death; the introduction of animal fat into the cartridges of the soldiers of the Government was said to be the excuse for the Sepoy Mutiny.

One of the chief black marks that the orthodox Hindu has against the Europeans is that they are cow-killing nations and hence unspeakably unclean. This is just one of the little inconsistencies of Religion. For, if, the people of India gave their fellow-men the same treatment that they give the sacred cow, there would be less suffering, injustice, beggardom, disease, caste-fetishes and loathsome misery. A century ago Sati, human-sacrifice to Kali; oppression, serfdom; the unimportance of girl babies and Thuggie, were considered *comme il faut*, while the killing of a cow was a crime unspeakable.

The S. P. C. A. report the arrest of numbers of Hindus daily for the mistreatment of beasts, and the leather dressers of the lucrative hide business are drawn from low-caste Hindus. The cattle are also subject to cruel branding with caste marks and symbols which are suppossed to be a cure-all for diseases peculiar to cattle. The bullock-driver uses no reins, but guides his beasts by the simple expedient of twisting the tails of his patient animals.

The very earliest conception of the sanctity of the cow seems to have come from the old Aryan myth that made this animal the symbol that represented the clouds that attend the Sun-God Surya, the Giver of Life.

The cows and oxen vary in size from the small breeds of the Himalayas to the fine animals that come from the Punjab and the rich grazing-lands of Oudh and Guzerat. The bullock is in common use to pull carts, ploughs, market wagons, tikka-gharries, ekkas, or the covered wagons of the Government Commissariat, Red Cross and Transport Departments. By a whim of fate, they also pull the wagons that contain the sectional carcasses of their own species, as well as the piles of evil-smelling hides that one encounters in the thoroughfares.

It is a religious belief among some Hindus that if when they are dying they hold on to cow's tail, they may be drawn into Heaven or taken across *Vaitarini*, the River Styx of Indian mythology. There are numerous other superstitions connected with the sacred cow, particularly applying to the rehabilitation of lost caste and initiations into various rites which I will withhold from this more or less expurgated account.

Wherever there is a superstitious faith, there is a belief in evil spirits or animism and demonolatry which is, and has been the dominating religion of the primitive Hindu. For every God in the Pantheon, there is a bhut, a jinn, a devil, or some kind of malign influence of supernatural creation to be feared and propitiated. Every child wears a charm against the evil-eye, and even the cows themselves, though sacred, wear a symbol to ward off disease.

From the ancient days of the Rig-Veda, through the Vedic period and on down to the more modern days of Ramayana, the cow is woven into the heroic stories of Gods and men. She is the most reverenced of animals and worthy of being the subject of a Festival in her own right. At this season, *Krishna* is worshipped as a cow-herd, and images of him are made in mud and cow manure, depicting him surrounded by his cows and calves. The modern rustic cow-herd is treated to a feast of parched corn and sweet-meats ; sugar-cane is offered to the Brahmin priest and a public " Puja " is held by farmers and householders in general. The cows are decorated with chains of blue beads and marigolds, their tails stained with red, their horns gilded, and themselves feasted and made much of.

This amiable bovine is honoured above all beasts of the field ; flower-decked, be-jewelled, decorated like an Easter egg, be-tasselled, strung with tinkling bells and finally finished off with a covering of mirror cloth which flashes in the bright sunlight and lends the patient, humble, simple and pastoral beast a bizarre, garish and unique appearance, undreamed of in cowology, yet attractive in a Pagan way and suited to the great burning stage of India where the impossible and the different is an everyday affair.

It was once customary to express wealth in terms of the cow, and the man who was overburdened with the cares of too much property probably coigned the phrase that " He sleeps well who has neither cow nor calf."

Cows are the frequent subject for bewitchment and the superstitious Hindu hangs a black thread about the necks of his cattle, which, together with amulets, charms and spells, are said to ward off disease. Cures for various bovine ills are used in the symbols of Siva, or in the knife, and animals are subjected to cruelties that our modern veterinaries would recoil at with horror. The old-time superstitions are the worst enemies of modern science and medicine, and have to be combated in the gradual breaking down of worn-out fetishism and ignorance.—A hard battle in a country so thoroughly saturated in thousands of years of dogmatic, fanatic and tenacious beliefs.

As we have said, the cow is the first in the list of important Indian animals, its products, its use in metaphor, allegory, religion, domesticity and, in fact every imaginable phase of India's life, has placed it in the front rank of precedence. " Mother Bagavat kai jai !"

THE " WATER-BUFFALO."

Familiar indeed is the uncouth form of the dark water-buffalo " the black antithesis of the benignant cow." It is bad luck to look on a buffalo early in the morning and it is considered unlucky to keep one, so says our superstitious brother, and yet they are very much in evidence, and daily our sympathies go out to the poor, harassed, abused beast who strains patiently at heavy loads ; whose tails are twisted into knots by indifferent drivers, who are beaten and yelled at.

Cows represent the day, buffaloes, the night of the Indian family Bovine ; and while the abused bufallo is generically a member of the cow-family, he is not considered so by the Hindu who is not interested in paleontology. However, although the buffalo is held in contempt as compared with the cow, he is used to draw great burdens; its milk and butter is in great demand, and he also contributes his share of fuel in the familiar "buffalo chips." He is strong, courageous, patient, docile and capable of showing real affection for the children who sometimes attend him.

He is happiest when near a pool or "nulla" where he rolls in supreme content in the turgid streams, or stands for hours, apparently motionless, in the edges of the river; he is indeed a creature of the water, and he shows almost human delight in laving himself in any liquid body that presents itself. Even the filthy mud and slime of a wayside ditch offers attraction to the plodding, uncouth beasts, who are happiest when covered with mud, and lying half submerged in some pool. Although they appear unusually stupid and sullenly dumb, they are far from either, being of affectionate natures, capable of sudden exhibitions of vile temper, or quick movements unsuspected in their sluggish, ugly, black bodies. Their cumbersome appearance is augmented by the extraordinarily long horns that seem to over-burden the head and cause it to sag drearily; but anyone who has ever seen a buffalo run amok, can testify that these awkward horns do not impede the progress of the angry and sometimes dangerous animals. And somehow, we are secretly glad that these poor abused beasts have the courage, the temperament and the desire to break out and make a dash for freedom, if only temporarily, for eventually they return, voluntarily, to the waiting yoke. Generations of servitude to man being the stronger instinct, and the one which conquers the wild moods, the intermittent rebellions against fate, end in a return to slavery.

If you have ever had the misfortune to pass by a cow or buffalo stable the assault upon your olfactories will tell you much about the methods of keeping byres or cow-sheds in India. A modern Western Dairy-farm is the last word in cleanliness, comfort and sanitation; and consequently the people who enjoy cream, milk and butter are not in danger of dread diseases caused by filthy stables, neglected animals and ignorant methods. I am afraid that if a fastidious person were to make a round of buffalo or cow stables here, he would not feel inclined to trust his life to the products of these antiquated and unwholesome dairies, whether of the despised buffalo or the beloved cow.

Our unfortunate, awkward and sometimes downtrodden buffalo has been, for centuries, the victim of sacrifice on the bloody altars of Kali, "The Black Mother," the wife of Shiva and the Goddess of death and destruction.

At the *Dasehrah Festival* great numbers of male buffaloes are offered up by Hindu priests. In the *Rudhiradhyaya*, or Sanguinary chapter of the Kali Tantra, purported to be divine instructions from Shiva, the following are the directions for the sacrifice of a buffalo. "It is through sacrifice that princes obtain bliss, heaven and victory over their enemies."

"When a buffalo is presented to Devi, let the sacrificer use the following Mantra in invoking the victim.

"In the manner that thou destroyed horses, in the manner that thou carriest Chandica, destroy my enemies, and bear prosperity to me, O Buffalo! O steed of death, of exquisite and unperishable form, produce me long life and fame. Salutations to thee, O Buffalo!"

The wretched victim's head is then fastened down and a priest, with one blow of his Kharga (axe), decapitates the buffalo. The blood of the victim must then be placed in a vessel of gold, silver, copper or brass, invoked and offered to Kali. We will not go into detail of the horrid rites incidental to Kali-worship and the sacrifice of creatures, which until a century or two ago, included human beings.

Bucentaur, sometimes called a buffalo-demon, so the legend goes, once had the courage to fight with Kali, and since then, the sacrifice of buffaloes has been included in the list of victims, as a sort of punishment to go down the ages. In some of the aboriginal districts in the hills, still more atrocious methods have been used in killing buffaloes, such as beating them to death in the presence of mixed gatherings of spectators who make a holiday of the occasion. The poor beast is used upon numerous other Hindu festivals of ceremony which space will not permit me to describe.

The buffalo having no immemorial safeguard of sanctity set about it, is subjected to many indignities which would not be placed upon a vow, or a Brahminy bull. He is ridden, made into a drought animal, beaten, starved, sacrificed and used as the butt of such ceremonials as do not tend to add to its comfort. Withal, he is not even regarded as a poor relation to the cow, much less a blood-brother, and his lot is not always a happy one. However, we see the patient plodding beast daily doing useful work ; pulling great loads, its down-dropping head, dull eyes, and general heavy, sullen and despondent mien, marking it as one of the oppressed of earth.

We would almost hope that the buffalo has indeed, a soul, which, one day, when liberated from the house of flesh, will soar to a Buffalo-heaven, where in a celestial pasture-land, by the side of clear streams, he will wander at peace, unmolested by man.

THE HORSE.

In the old days in India, almost everybody of any importance owned and rode a horse. The royal stables of reigning rajahs were well stocked with equine beauties, trained according to ideal Indian standards, and put through their paces on state occasions. We cannot compare the Eastern and Western methods of horse training, for here again, customs differ. Mistaken kindness on the part of ignorant keepers has reduced hundreds of splendid animals to a state of uselessness through over-feeding, and unscientific treatment.

A steady diet of sugar and ghi is not conducive to the best development of horse health and efficiency, and yet such fare is daily given to the stables of the wealthy, and to add to the mismanagement, very little exercise is considered necessary. The animals are tied up in stalls, overfed and under-exercised, and the result is what one might expect. No human could thrive under such conditions, and much less can a horse, accustomed, as he is, to a life of freedom and of simple granivorous diet. Mismanagement in tying, feeding and training has not produced the best results in the horse of India, although in these present days, the keepers of racing stables have profited by the modern science and knowledge of caring for their animals with the result that there are many fine specimens of Arabs, Barbs, etc., in evidence on Race days in Calcutta, the property of Rajahs and high-caste Indians.

Riding horses, driving horses, processional horses, racing horses, and so on down the list, are in evidence in most Indian towns. Here in Calcutta, we may see a pair of white horses highly decorated with green or red spots painted all over their bodies, with dyed manes and tails, like the hobby-horses of the children's nursery; jingling with bells, covered with ornate trappings and pulling an old-time carriage with pompous and noisy grooms and syces, and taking some prosperous Marwari for a drive along the Strand Road. Or, a fat little pony trotting smartly along in front of a vehicle of the "Jaun" variety, containing a load of people.

In country roads, it is not unusual to see a gharri of the same type, not only packed with passengers inside, but absolutely swarming all over the top and sides of the vehicle, and drawn by one poor gaunt and labouring beast. In Jaipur, in the season of marriages, we have seen horses, gaily and handsomely caparisoned with velvet, tinsel, fringes, and all manner of decorations, ridden by the groom in the case. The man himself was no more ornately decked out than the animal he rode, for both wore a profusion of jewellery, bangles and brilliant trappings. Highly polished harnesses, aigrettes and ornamentation do not hide the fact that the uncomfortable animal's head is tightly pulled down by martingales, and we feel sure that such houses had rather far be out in some pasture kicking up his heels in natural abandonment and freedom than carrying the finest Rajah in the world.

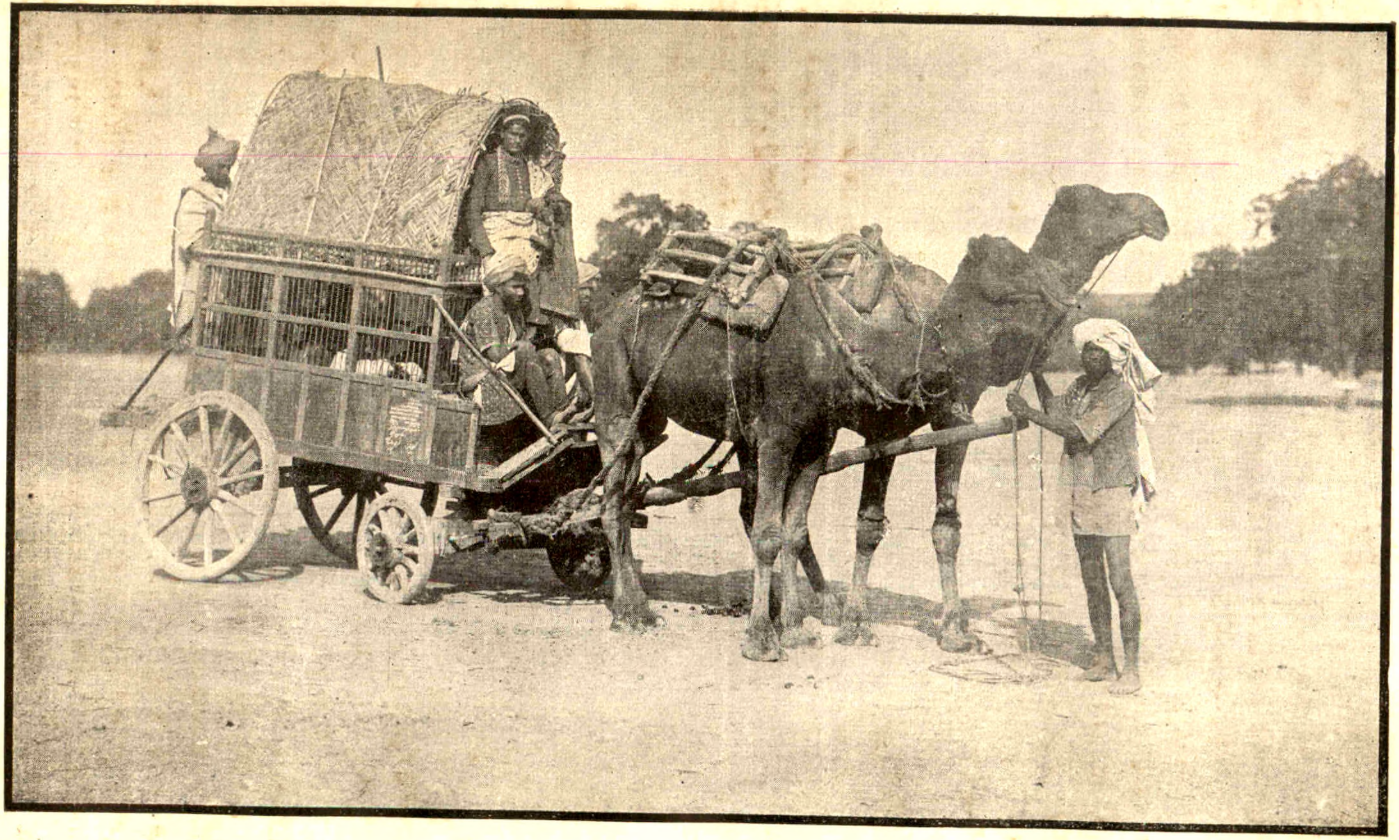
The most intelligent of the species is found among the polo ponies who seem to know as much about the game as their masters, and who actually appear to enjoy capering and galloping through the forms of play in which Indians excel.

The uses of the horse are of infinite variety here, for not only do they serve the pleasure of the well-born and wealthy in race-course, polo field, procession, or ordinary equestrianism; but they also are used as beasts of burden and subject to all the miseries of the dumb brute in general.

They do not escape the shadows of taboos, fetishes and superstitions, and we will again refer to the Kali Tantra which gives some descriptions of the horse sacrifice. "The offering of a horse, except at the Aswamedha sacrifice, is wrong, as also offering an elephant, except at the Gaja Medha; let, therefore, the ruler of men observe never to offer them except on those occasions."

The origin of the horse sacrifice goes back to the legendary days of Surya, the Sun-God, when the celestial horse drew the chariot of the God in his flight across the sky. He was honored as an associate of the high gods, and in the old days, centuries ago, it was customary to sacrifice a horse at the Hindu Aswamedha Festival. The most recently known sacrifices of this nature were supposed to have taken place at Jaipur, where the reigning Rajah officiated at the ceremonies.

At the great Festival of the Yagnam, to the God of Fire (Agni) four victims were offered in sacrifice, a horse, a cow, an elephant and a man. The first sacrifice was called the



Camel Carriage

Aswamedha, and since horses were usually chosen to be sacrificed at this time, the festival came to be called the *Aswamedha* and has since been known by that name.

The predestined animal was chosen before birth and carefully raised and tended for three years. Indra was invoked to watch over the sacrifice to be, and Yama and Varuna, gods of Death and Water, were propitiated in order that the young horse might not meet sudden death and that it might be given proper sustenance. At the end of this period of preparation the animal was allowed, according to the ritual, to roam at will for one year, followed, of course, by attendants who watched over it.

The sacrifice of a horse was considered a grand affair and was attended by innumerable ceremonies. It was supposed to be a royal sacrifice, and to endow the officiating Rajah with almost supernatural powers. A detailed account of an Aswamedha is given in the Ramayan in the flowery language of the period. Since the Festival was more or less pre-Aryan in its origin, the custom of horse sacrifice has practically died out in India; even buffaloes are not so commonly used as in the past.

We are glad indeed that the cruel practice of sacrificing horses has died out, and we would be gladder still if the noble animal had achieved his proper place in the social register of dumb beasts, for surely there is no finer friend to man, no more splendid animal to harness to the uses of the lords of creation.

THE CAMEL.

Among all the queer animals who were supposed to accompany Noah into the Ark, I do not think there were any queerer than the Camel, that most temperemental and mysterious of beasts. Supercilious, mean of disposition, resentful, ill-tempered, snarling, grunting, mincing, indifferent quadruped that he is, he has been cursed, maligned, hated and misunderstood above all beasts of burden.

Perhaps in Arabia, from whence he is said to have come into India, he is better liked by his bournoosed rider. He is called the "Ship of the Desert," and is capable of going for days without water and with slim provisions. He never forgets or forgives mistreatment, and, it is an unlucky man who does him an injury and afterwards gets within range of his powerful teeth.

There is a saying that the camel is a Mussalman, in origin and by nature, as he has been associated with the history of the Muslim, for centuries.

The camel is not indigenous to India, but has been adapted to use in this country as a pack animal and general beast of burden, and domesticated, in so far as a camel can be domesticated.

Who has seen the strung-out caravan of a camel train, silhouetted against the horizon in the sunset on a desert and not felt the mystery and romance of such a picture? The camel belongs to the secretive yesterdays of old countries, to the waste places, to the desert that he conquers with his untiring stride and hardy physique. He seems to share the remote past of all ancient things, to be wearied with an old weariness that lies in lands of forgotten glories. He is in the shadow of the pyramids and the Sphinx; of the far and unremembered places: in spaces of silence and brooding mystery. He seems forever scorning the humans who master him to their ends, forever hating captivity, forever holding grievances, against the Fate that forced him into sordid service with inferior humans. He has been used as the subject of infinite proverbs, legends, sayings and has even represented Death in white form, coming out of the shadows of nowhere, sounding his bells of doom.

To see a camel at his best, one must view him, not in single file but in battalions, laden with bales of merchandise, pacing with dainty steps along a dusty Indian road in the Up-Country. He is then picturesque and intriguing, as nowhere else. He has a dignified, scornful appearance not without a sort of animal majesty and consciousness of superiority. He is unhurried, although at times his long legs can be made to eat up the leagues on a march. He sways along with deliberate, rhythmic steps, and makes an uncomfortable seat for the rider unused to his motions.

But there is much good to be found in a camel; for he is strong, speedy, patient, enduring, and has an individuality and charm all his own.

Those who know him well deny that he is blessed with more than a modicum of brains; they say that he is far less intelligent than the elephant, and that about the only evidence one has of his sense, is that he is capable of hatred, malevolence, vindictiveness, spite and such ungracious qualities. He is not supposed to have any of the virtues that balance his vices; but he is none the less a most useful animal in India as in other Oriental countries.

This queer, pre-historic-appearing beast seems to belong to another age, his long sinuous neck and small head having something suggestively reptilian about it; as the "Tommy" said so aptly: "the commissariat cam-u-el, when all is said and done, 'e's a devil an' a ostrich an' a orphan child in one."

In spite of all the calumny heaped upon the camel, he has served well the uses of "government" in India in campaigns, as a transport animal, as a troop horse, and as a general burden-bearer. He has actually served in the "Camel Corps," trained to military usages; to discipline, march and battle.

Having been provided by Nature with his own private canteen of water, the camel can march twenty miles a day, carrying a three hundred pound pack, over burning desert and barren hill, enduring with apparent stolidity the hardships of tropical travel that would down a less hardy beast. And yet he is not free from disease and sickness, and succumbs very easily to mistreatment and climatic exigencies.

It is said by those who know him best, and that means the Oriental, that the camel does respond to kind treatment, and shows evidence of appreciating it, and that although his personality is not attractive, he can show gratitude and affection.

The Occidental is never a natural camel-rider, and it is most difficult for him to accommodate himself to the nauseous sway of the long-limbed, loose-jointed animal. A man's first ride on camel-back is always likened unto his first voyage on a rough sea, for he is sure to experience the selfsame feelings of "mal-de-mer." The Oriental, on the contrary, is by nature and instinct adapted to the stride of the camel; he understands his mount, he has ways and means, too elusive for our comprehension, of being able to speak the same language, which is the mysterious language of the East.

Being Arabian by descent, the camel is at his best on the hot, dry plains of the Indian desert and in the Punjab, and he is by nature adapted to the climate of the Tropics. He is most useful on the North-West Frontier, although he is seen in considerable numbers in Rajputana where he is used as an ordinary domesticated beast of burden.

Those of us who have not seen the camel in his natural habitat can never get the best impression of the species; the wretched, mangy, restless creature, held captive in some city Zoo, is only a fit subject for our sympathy and sorrow. How different the picture in Egypt, Arabia, Africa or India, where he fits into his natural, wild background of desert, palm-dotted oasis and gaunt hills. He is a nomad by heredity, a primitive vagabond, browsing on the scant grass of some Tropic plain; lying at ease, ruminating unknown thoughts under the shade of palm or mosque; or beneath the white walls of some far-off caravanserai. He is part of the immensities of the remote deserts, seen against the twilight sky, topping a mighty sand-ridge, in Silhouette gaunt and strange; ere he merges into the shadows of an Eastern night, one with its mystery, its secretiveness, its profundity. Out of the mist of the Past, he came and into the mist he vanishes, and no man knows his genesis, or exodus.

(*To be continued.*)

LILY STRICKLAND ANDERSON

" AND THEN CAME SPRING "

" Indeed, indeed, Repentance oft before
I swore—but was I sober when I swore ?
(And then and then came Spring,) and Rose-in-hand,
My thread-bare Penitence apieces tore."—*Omar.*

Since the Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam was first exhumed from the dust heap of Time, and incidentally, from a dusty barrel in an old book shop in London, how many of us have borne our empty pitchers to his fount of wisdom to be refilled? A fount ever fresh and eternal, whose spring was only covered by the sleeping dust, and as voiceless as the fountain, that when unsealed, released the Soul of Undine.

There is indeed, two-fold wisdom in every quartrain written by the grand old Poet, Mystic and Philosopher, who like Paul, meditated upon life and truth as he stitched his tents upon the desert's dusty face, or reposed beneath the great, white stars, within " that inverted bowl we call the sky."

No Poet has been more maligned and misunderstood than has the good old Sufi, Omar Khayyam; he, like the immortal Shakespeare has even been accused of plagiarism, in spite of which they still " go marching on " adown the centuries, supreme and inviolable.

The materialists quaff a most satisfying drink from Omar's fount, as do the Idealists, the philosophers, the pagans and all lovers... can such things be? "*Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter*?" The very name, Rubáiyát, meaning between the lines, and the fact that Omar was a Sufi, refutes the paganism and eroticism attributed to his verses even by many of his admirers.

All schools alike claim him: atheists, idealists, epicureans, and stoics. Some see him crowned with roses lying at the feet of the Beloved; others see him within the Tavern calling for wine; some see him learnedly discussing the why and wherefore of the Universe, and life and death—and hearing "great argument about it and about"; while others see him as a High Priest of lovers, casting aside the human and Divine problems to lose his fingers in the tresses of the cypress-slender minister of Wine with her angel shape!

There was but one Krishna, but many celestial Gopis, and each fair milk-maid thought him her lover alone... so, what does it matter if each one is happy and content? It is all a matter of unfoldment, or, shall we say, of mental and spiritual evolution?

Like unto the Hebrew poets and prophets of old are the Mohammedan Sufis, whose religion springs from the same source—the Pentateuch.

Jehovah and Allah are One and the same, as to them are Moses and Mahomet, prophets and leaders alike; a distinction without a difference.

What a sad world this would be were we all materialists! Better to stumble into a ditch whilst star-gazing, than to seek in the ditch for glow-worms and never to see the stars!

The interpretation of Omar's verses, like that of most Eastern writers of all sorts of literature, depends upon our own view-point from our own particular spiral of evolution; and what we believe we see to-day, will tomorrow broaden out into a higher vision and fuller beauty. Truth and beauty lie within the heart and eye of the beholder: says Matthew Arnold, "To see things in their beauty is to see them in their truth."

So we may each rejoice in the cup we quaff from the fount of Omar—"according to your need be it unto you."

"Now the New Year reviving old desires,
The thoughtful Soul to solitude retires"—

and we burn incense upon the altar of an Unknown God. Good resolutions are made, and the recording Angel smiles as he turns for us a fresh leaf.

"*Le roi a mort; vive la roi!*" Happy New Year! We acclaim him gloriously and libations are poured upon his head. He is heralded by a motley crowd, and the dead Old Year is decently "shrouded in the living leaf" and laid to rest. The young god is placed upon his pedestal and the carousal begins.... But when "unborn Tomorrow becomes To-day," we repent of our frivolities and pause to record other new resolutions: we will be this or that—we will do thus or so—alas, the "Eternal Saki from that bowl has pour'd millions of bubbles like us, and shall pour!"

It takes such a little puff of vernal air to burst our bubbles of good intentions: we may have piled up stacks of these Plutonian paving-blocks, but they will go up in air like pricked balloons, and we will find that we are to-day what yesterday we were. "Indeed, indeed repentance oft before I swore—but was I sober when I swore? (And then, and then came Spring,) and rose-in-hand, my threadbare penitence apieces tore."

The theme changes—the muted violins burst into golden cadences—and then came Spring, with her daffodils and violets, with hyacinths and apple-blooms.... Oh, the perfume and melody of Spring! Is there anything on Earth so sweet? Youth, laughter, love, joy, beauty—all synonyms of Spring! Aphrodite born of the foam of the sea to meet her adorers; Cleopatra, in her silver barge floating down the Nile to greet Antony; Sappho crowned with violets singing love-songs with Alcestis; Lalla Rookh, with her Beloved in Shallema Garden, finding their Paradise; Romeo, climbing the balcony to Juliete's arms—all, all born of the Spring and her moon-madness!

Nothing brings back dear memories of the past so vividly as the perfume of a flower; just close your eyes and inhale a hyacinth—a thousand memories make melody in your Soul—a thousand pictures flash before your mind. No wonder that an Eastern poet cried, "If I had but two loaves of bread, I would sell one of them and buy white hyacinths to feed my soul."...They are all there, those memories, in the perfume of a flower; a Spring flower—a violet, a wild-rose, a clove-pink, or a spray of almond blossoms. "*Arise my love, my fair one, and come away; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come.*" So the great king sang to the Shulemite-maid long centuries ago, they too saw Spring with rose-in-hand—"Arise my love, and come away!"

Memory! Ah what a blessed gift from the Creator of life—Memory!—we can never lose anything whilst we retain that splendid gift. There is no death, no old age, no decay to those who know how to keep Spring in their hearts, to be young within. Socrates and his beloved pupil Plato prayed "to be beautiful within," well might we add, and *O God, make us young within!* "Except ye become as little children, ye cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven!"...where is Heaven, with its gates of pearl and gold? We are plainly told by Him, who was the Light of the world, "*Heaven is within you*"—heaven is a condition of mind. It is to hold faith and love in your heart; beauty and truth in your soul; it is to realize that we are living in Eternity now; this it is to be conscious of eternal youth.

"Youth's sweet-scented manuscript" need never close. Old age is only a masquerade to fool the ignorant: there is no old age, no death—only transmutation and transition. Winter is only a preparation for Spring, and Death for fuller Life.

"*O Wind, if Winter comes, can spring be far behind?*" Could the dark waters of that Italian Gulf quench the deathless Spirit of him who sang of the sky-lark? We may transpose his thought and say, "O Soul, if death must come can Life be far behind?"—He who was translated that spring morning, "over against Bethany," overcame the grave and vanquished death forever!

Have we lost loved ones?... ..."*Verily, verily I say unto you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it* *abideth alone; but if it dies it bears much fruit.*" Therein is a great mystery, and a blessed truth. We cannot lose our loved ones; we have but to close our eyes, and memory turns on her pictures: we see them in so many moods—the little curves at the corners of smiling lips; the light playing over the eyes and brow; the turn of the head, and sweep of the hair—we see them at all ages, just as we had them and shall ever have them. They are There—in the Larger Life, thinking of us, as we are thinking of them......Waiting, waiting, for Spring to come, with rose in hand, and beckon us to that land where all of the roses of yester-year blossom anew.

Botticelli grasped the idea—Spring, impregnated by the spirit of air to bring forth beauty—an immaculate conception.

Spring touched with amorous fingers the heart of Dante when he beheld the young Beatrice passing by, and she was his inspiration evermore.

Spring touched the eyes of Petrarch, and in the "dim religious light" of a cathedral he beheld his "Madonna Laura," and she coloured all of his after-life, and does still; for love, like God is eternal.

Spring touched the heart of Mary, and white lilies of annunciation chimed, as she sang, "*Henceforth blessed am I above all women.*"

Spring touched the weeping eyes of another Mary, and she beheld the Resurrected Lord......" *Reboni, Reboni!*"

"O Wind, if Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?"
"O Soul, if Death must come, can Life be far behind?"

A heart filled with altruistic love is like the alabaster box of precious ointment; even though it be broken and spilled, the fragrance permeates and enriches the air for all ages, for those of understanding.

We inhale the fragrance of the love of all lovers, when we inhale the rose in the white hand of Spring, and we must follow, follow!

Life is barren indeed when we no longer thrill at the coming of Spring and all that she typifies : the rose-in-hand is for me, and you; it is for all who reach forth and claim it. Press it to your lips and eyes—for it is the open sesame to a wonder-world. Behold, the beauty that lies entombed will awaken in thousands of violets, daffodils and roses. A million chrysalises will burst to liberate the unfolding, jewelled wings of butterflies; the songs of mating birds will echo in our hearts, and the stars will whisper messages to our ears alone.

There may have been sorrows, griefs, sins and repentances in our lives—but they are behind us, lost in the shadows of yester-year.

The Miracle Worker draws near—sunlight is ahead—look up, and listen to the slow, sweet music of the spheres: we may weep to-night, but joy cometh with the morning.

We may have been lost in the Valley of Shadows—"And then, and then came Spring with rose-in-hand," to lead us back to the sun-kissed heights of realization, where youth and love and joy and peace are eternal.

TERESA STRICKLAND

GOLD STANDARD *VERSUS* GOLD EXCHANGE STANDARD FOR INDIA

Of the numerous disastrous consequences of the War the breakdown of the financial system in various countries is not the least important. Inspite of the fact that full seven years have already elapsed since the cessation of hostilities, most of the countries have not been able to restore their monetary system as yet. England did it only the other day and that also in a limited sense. In India a Currency Committee has failed and a royal commission has been appointed to solve the problem of Indian Currency and exchange.

The Smith Committee were precluded by their terms of reference from considering the question of the gold standard. They accordingly confined their attention to the improvement of the system that existed in the country before the last breakdown. Nor was there any very strong opinion in the country in favour of the gold standard. To-day however the situation is entirely different in this respect. There is a very strong and insistent demand for the gold standard, while the terms of reference of the present commission are also sufficiently wide to enable them to take this question into consideration. A choice will have to be made between the two monetary systems.

The gold exchange standard in India gradually evolved out of measures that were taken with the object of introducing the gold standard and not the exchange standard. The Government really drifted to the new monetary system and as its advantages and practicability were realised the original idea of introducing the gold standard was eventually given up.

In a gold exchange standard the money in general circulation is given an artificially high value from which the actual value is liable to depart by going up or coming down. It is therefore necessary to set up a mechanism for the purpose of checking this rise or fall in the value of the internal money. In India the value of the rupee which was fixed at 1*s.* 4*d.* was maintained at that level by the selling of council and reverse bills when necessary.

Before the War the danger to which the gold exchange standard was thought to be particularly liable was a fall in the value of the rupee. But that danger was successfully averted whenever it made its appearance. The cause which actually broke down the system was, however, the rise in the value of the rupee brought about by a combination of abnormal circumstances.

Those who advocate the introduction of the gold standard should not forget that during the War practically all gold standard countries with the notable exception of America failed to maintain their monetary system. The universal adulteration of currency that took place during the War brought Gresham's law into operation and the effective maintenance of the gold standard was an impossible task. The fact that to the same irresistible forces our young monetary system succumbed is not a matter of surprise.

It seems that the failure of the gold exchange standard in India during the War has been made too much of. An ideal monetary system should try to secure a stability of prices as well as of exchange. A stability of prices is however more important than a stability of exchange in all countries. But in a country like India where the volume of international trade is relatively small the former is far more important than the latter. If therefore, the two are incompatible at any time the choice must be made in favour of stability of prices. With the world prices rising rapidly during the War India could not expect to keep both her prices and exchange stable. One would have to be sacrificed in any case. The rise in the exchange value of the rupee which constituted the failure of the gold exchange standard was only the lesser of the two evils. A stable exchange, supposing it could be maintained, would imply much greater rise in the level of internal prices. The breakdown of the monetary system proved thus a blessing in disguise. Its successful maintenance would mean greater hardship to the people of India.

Even supposing that India had the gold standard before the War, is it not almost certain that the same consequences about the exchange would have followed? The War created an unexampled demand for Indian exports. This circumstance together with the fact that the Government of India had to make large disbursements on behalf of the British Government swelled enormously the balance of account in favour of this country. The embargo on the export of gold in practically all countries would make the clearing of this balance extremely difficult for foreign countries, with the result that the value of the rupee in terms of their currency would certainly rise. Gold standard or gold exchange standard, the rise in the Indian exchange would inevitably take place under the conditions produced by the War. Whatever may be the other reasons for doing so, it is clear that its failure during the War does not provide any valid ground for discarding the gold exchange standard in favour of the gold standard.

But let us see if the gold standard is preferable on other considerations. Is it likely to maintain a greater stability of prices and of exchange in the future? An absolute stability of prices can be ensured neither by the gold standard nor by the exchange standard. Perhaps it can be maintained by no monetary system that can be devised by human ingenuity. A gold standard when effectively maintained will at best confine fluctuations in prices to those in the value of gold. Recent experience has shown how violent these fluctuations can be. In the United States of America where the dollar maintained its parity with gold the index number rose to 247 in 1920.

The causes which bring about changes in the value of gold are generally outside the control of any particular country. The value of gold like that of every other thing is determined by demand and supply. The discovery of a gold mine in any part of the world, the use of substitutes as media of exchange, or a diminution in the volume of trade will all cause its value to fall. Over these factors no country can claim to possess an exclusive or even a dominant control. A country having an effective gold standard cannot avoid fluctuations in prices which are due to these external causes.

A gold exchange standard also will attain the same result. It will confine fluctuations in the price level to the varying fortunes of gold.

Regarding exchange the two monetary systems are alike so long as they are effectively maintained. A gold standard is not the remedy of all exchange troubles, nor is the gold exchange standard. A steady exchange depends on the relative stability of internal and external prices. The mere maintenance of a stable price level within a country cannot ensure a steady exchange with foreign countries. Fluctuations in exchanges may be the result not of our own action but that of foreign countries over the monetary policy of which we have no control. If the foreign currency be divorced from gold, or fail to maintain a definite and fixed relation to it, the exchange will fluctuate whether we have the gold standard or the gold exchange standard. In such a case a stable exchange will imply an unstable price level. To keep the exchange stable it will be necessary to deliberately adjust the price level by inflation or deflation. But then the remedy will prove worse than the disease. Moreover when the price levels in various countries are moving in different degrees it is impossible to keep stability of exchange with all of them. The different exchanges will call for different adjustments in internal prices all at the same time which is absurd.

On the whole the choice between the two monetary systems depends on their relative strength. So long as they can be effectively maintained we have seen there is no difference betweeen them as to their capacity to ensure a stability of prices or a stability of exchange. The question which presents itself is how lon g they can thus be maintained and what is their strength to res ist hostile economic forces. The history of the working of the two systems does not furnish any clear and unmistakable proof either in favour of or against any one of them. In the period before the War the gold exchange standard in this country worked with conspicuous success. The abnormal conditions produced by the War under which it broke down did also bring about the abandonment of the gold standard in many countries.

None the less, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that the exchange standard does not work so automatically as the gold standard. The conversion of gold into local currency and that of local currency into gold, the mechanism by which the artificial value of the local currency is maintained contains an element of weakness from which the gold standard is free.

If the internal currency is made of paper there is no difficulty in supplying it in exchange for gold. But if it is a silver coin like the rupee with a fairly high metallic value there may be occasions when the supply of the local currency bec omes a difficult task. This was exactly the reason for whic h the gold exchange standard failed in India during the W ar. The enormous demand for council bills could not be met at the normal rate except at a heavy loss owing to the rise in the price of silver. It is no doubt true that the combination of circumstances that were responsible for this failure of the gold exchange standard was extremely rare. But a danger which is rare cannot be regarded as one totally absent.

The other inherent weakness of the Exchange standard is the task of supplying gold in exchange for internal currency for purposes of foreign remittance. Ordinarily the need for remittance in the form of gold is not large for any country, because the imports and exports both visible and invisible normally balance each other. But in a country like India where the export trade mainly depends on a favourable monsoon, disturbances of this normal balance do not infrequently occur.

Again in the life of a nation occasions arise when the normal equation of international indebtedness is totally upset and a heavy adverse balance emerges. The successful working of a monetary system requires that this sort of adverse balance should be settled by the movement of gold. In the exchange standard the money in internal circulation being a token coin, is useless for the purpose. It has got to be converted into gold which is the only international money. The supply of gold in exchange for internal money is limited to the gold reserves that are usually set apart for this purpose. Under the gold standard the gold resources of a country are evidently much larger than under the exchange standard. Consequently it has greater reserve power for meeting adverse balance under the former than under the latter. This circumstance imparts to the gold standard a strength which is greater than that of the exchange standard and constitutes perhaps the strongest economic argument in favour of it. Whatever may be the other advantages, a monetary system is not worth having, unless it has a stability and strength of its own. And in so far as the gold standard is stronger and more able to withstand hostile economic forces, it is also likely to possess advantages over the exchange standard regarding prices and exchange.

A gold standard will also be immensely popular in this country. The yellow metal possesses everywhere a fascination of its own. But it possesses a greater fascination in India than in any other country. From time immemorial the people of this country have been displaying this love of gold. They will heartily welcome a gold standard with a gold currency.

The establishment of a gold standard with a gold currency will also raise the prestige of the Government in the eyes of the people. The ordinary man does not understand the mysteries of a modern monetary system. To him the Government appears to be cheating the people by the manufacture of paper notes and the various kinds of token money. He knows that the real value of the paper note is nothing and that of the rupee is much less than what it professes to be. Often he connects this with the fact that the Government of the country is not national. The introduction of a gold standard with a gold curreney will dispel this sort of misconception and distrust which tend to undermine the real foundations of a Government.

India is the classical home of hoarding. Every year she imports a large amount of gold and silver for this purpose. The locking up of this vast amount of wealth in unproductive uses is a serious handicap to the development of her industry, trade and commerce. It is apprehended by some that a gold standard by making gold more easily available will further stimulate the habits of hoarding. On the other hand there are people who hold the opinion that the free circulation of gold will cure it.

Both these views seem to overlook the real causes of the hoarding propensity of the people. It is the absence of banking facility and the undeveloped state of the banking habits of the people that are the real secret of this hoarding. Every man, if his income permits it, saves something in order to provide for the future. The average Indian does not know where and in what form he should invest his savings. He cannot trust a Joint-stock Company. There is no good bank near by. Even if it is there, he has not the little education which will enable him to open an account with it. Under these difficulties it is no wonder that he should regard himself as the best person to be entrusted with his savings. Naturally he hoards. The female population of the country which generally observe the purdah and are far more illiterate suffer under a greater disadvantage in this respect. They accordingly keep their savings in their own person in the form of ornaments.

So long as these causes are not removed the hoarding will continue. Familiarity with gold coins is not likely to diminish saving and the consequent hoarding. Nor is it likely to increase the total hoarding. It is quite probable that when gold coins are easily available people will hoard them instead of rupees. But if wealth is locked up in unproductive uses it is immaterial in what form it is kept. In so far as hoarding is now taking place in gold, the introduction of gold coins is not likely to stimulate it. Bar gold and sovereigns are already available in the market and at nearly the same price at which gold in the form of coins will be available when they come into circulation. Unless gold becomes cheaper as a result of the introduction of the gold standard, its hoarding is not likely to increase.

The establishment of the gold standard should mean the dethronement of the rupee in the Indian monetary system. But this result is not likely to take place for a time to come. The rupee has been occupying its present unique position for nearly a century and even if gold standard be introduced prices, wages, and other money incomes will continue to be measured in terms of it.

Again in a poor country like India a gold currency is not likely to be the general medium of exchange. Any gold coin of convenient size will contain too high a value for the everyday transactions of the people. For that purpose the rupee is the most suitable form of money. Gold coins when they are introduced will be confined to the comparatively large transactions.

These considerations make the fixing of the gold value of the rupee a matter of the highest importance. If all transactions would be measured in terms of gold immediately after the introduction of the gold standard, the rupee might be given any value whatsoever. But such an immediate transformation in the method of measuring value is not likely to take place. Nor is it very desirable that it should. It would mean the complete upsetting of the present system of measurement and would in many cases involve a serious breach of contract.

Two different gold values of the rupee are at the present time being advocated in the country. One is 1*s.* 4*d.* gold and the other is 1*s.* 6*d.* gold. The principal argument in favour of the former is that the Indian exchange which has been allowed to follow its own course has been in the neighbourhood of this value for more than a year. But this stability of the Indian exchange is really not in relation to gold but to the sterling, because the sterling which was at a depreciation has in the mean time attained its gold parity. Still it cannot be denied that this is the value which has been settled by the free play of economic forces.

Those who advocate the 1*s.* 4*d.* gold rate, say that the present high exchange is the result of four successive years of good monsoon and is not likely to be maintained normally. This value is also advocated for the reason that it will bring relief to those Indian industries which are now suffering from a severe foreign competition. But manipulation of exchange with a view to give protection is extremely undesirable. It is a very insidious form of protection and tends to raise the prices of all imported commodities,—those which are actually in need of protection as well as those which are not. The consumer is thus unnecessarily penalised. A low value of the rupee is also undesirable for the reason that the metallic value may easily exceed the legal value. The 1*s*. 6*d*. value is better in so far as it keeps a larger margin of safety.

The selection of the gold value of the rupee should be made in such a way as to leave undisturbed, so far as possible, the present level of prices and exchange. This is desirable not only for the sake of avoiding fluctuations in these things but also for the success of the measures taken to introduce the gold standard. Any rate materially different from this is likely to produce violent reactions and the unfortunate experience of 1920 may be repeated. A high value of the rupee in the period of transition stimulates imports and checks exports. It also makes gold cheap which has a very large and elastic demand in non-monetary uses in this country. The net imports of gold in 1924-25 was no less than 73 crores of rupees. The immediate effect of fixing the value of the rupee in relation to gold, at any rate substantially higher than that which obtains at the time of introducing the gold standard, will be to turn the balance of trade against India. This will necessitate the shipment of gold abroad and will make the task of introducing the gold standard extremely difficult.

A low value on the other hand will involve a rise in internal prices and the consequent evils. The policy of fixing the value of the rupee with a view to give protection to home industries or to balance the budget of the Government is equally vicious. These considerations should not find any place in solving the monetary problems of a country.

K. B. SAHA

HONGKONG UNIVERSITY CONGREGATION

[We reproduce in full on request the Address delivered by H. E. Sir Cecil Clementi, K.C.M.G., *ex-officio* Chancellor of the Hongkong University, on the occasion of the seventh Congregation held on the 12th January, 1926. We trust it will interest our readers here as well.—*Ed., C. R.*]

I value very highly the added opportunities which are now given to the Governor of Hongkong for assisting in the educational progress of the Colony by reason of the fact that he is *ex-officio* Chancellor of the Hongkong University. I must also thank you most sincerely for the welcome you have given me on the occasion of this, my first, ceremonial visit to the University as its Chancellor and for the honorary degree which the University has conferred upon me. It will be my constant aim to promote the academic interests which are thus committed to my care and, with your permission, I propose to-day in my inaugural address to present for your consideration certain ideas which I trust may be helpful to that section of the Faculty of Arts in this University which concerns itself with things Chinese.

In the remote age, when human speech was first becoming articulate, two inventions of far-reaching importance were made by widely sundered races of mankind. The progenitors of the Indo-European race, living as seems probable in the steppe country east of Europe and north of India evolved a mode of speech which was inflexional and poly-syllabic: while the progenitors of the Chinese race, who appear to have inhabited the Yellow River basin, created a language which was non-inflexional and monosyllabic. At a much later date, probably not earlier than the first millennium before Christ, alphabetic scripts of various kinds were invented or adapted for the use of the Indo-European language in different parts of the world. Such are the *nagari* script for Sanskrit, the cuneiform script for Persian and the Phoenician script for Greek and Latin. Later still the Arabic method of writing numerals was adopted throughout Europe. Meanwhile in China the invention of a non-inflexional monosyllabic language, in which monosyllables of the same sound are further differentiated from each other by intonation, was followed by the equally remarkable invention of an ideographic script. This script was entirely without an alphabet and it was in origin a pictorial system, which made appeal to the eye and not to the ear. By degrees, however, all ideograms were split up—in some cases very arbitrarily—into two component parts, namely a radical element which appeals to the eye and indicates the general meaning of the word, and a phonetic element which suggests the sound of the word. A good example is the ideogram *au* which means "a song" and in which the radical element depicts a mouth speaking while the rest of the ideogram (if written without the radical prefix) would still be pronounced *au* and is a picture of three mouths grouped together.

THE NEED OF A COMMON SPEECH IN CHINA.

Now the obvious advantage of picture writing as distinct from alphabetic script is that the picture at once suggests the meaning of a word, but the alphabet does not. On the other hand the equally obvious disadvantage of picture writing is that the idea conveyed by the ideogram can be spoken in a multitude of ways, whereas a word written alphabetically has, subject of course to different *nuances* of pronunciation among different peoples, only one sound. If I point to a picture of a man and ask a child to tell me what it is, the English child will say "man" the French child "homme" and the Cantonese child "yan." But if I write alphabetically the word "magnanimity," English, French and Cantonese children, provided they can spell, will all give it much the same sound. Now this fact has had an important historical result in China: for it is the reason why the Chinese spoken language changes from province to province, although the written language is the same throughout the length and breadth of the land. Let me take for instance, a Chinese word, which has been adopted into the English language and which is constantly on our lips, the word "tea." The ideogram for this word is pronounced *ch'a* both by Cantonese and Pekingese and thence comes the Russian *chai*, doubtless because the Russians got their tea from the Chinese of the north. But the same ideogram in Fukien is pronounced *ti*; and, as British traders first brought tea to England from the Fukien province, it was natural that they should bring with them its Fukienese name and hence the English word "tea." Now it is evident that two Chinese, who wish to talk about tea, will not easily understand each other if, while one speaks of the beverage as *ti*, the other calls it *ch'a*: and this is only one instance of the strangely different sounds given by Chinese in different provinces to the same ideogram in a very great number of cases. Consequently, whereas the written language has been a bond of union between the Eighteen Provinces, the spoken language divides various sections of the Chinese race quite as much as different languages divide the several nations of Europe. The inconvenience of this fact can be readily experienced by any one who moves among the Chinese population of Hongkong. Most people here speak Cantonese, but the chair-coolies are generally Hoklos, the villagers are often Hakkas, and many of the Chinese police are from Shantung and speak the dialect of that province. I have myself heard two Chinese in Hongkong talking to each other in "pidgeon English" as a sort of *lingua Franca*, because one was from the north and the other from the south, and therefore they could not understand each other's native speech. For the future of China, if it is ever to have national unity, few things are of greater importance than that of a speech common to the Eighteen Provinces should be contrived; and this is a matter which may well engage the attention of that section of the Faculty of Arts in the Hongkong University which devotes itself to the study of the Chinese language and literature.

MISTRANSLATION OF BUDDHIST SUTRAS.

But the difficulty, which I have just described, is only one of many which beset the Chinese language, whether spoken or written. The object of human speech is, of course, to give utterance to human thought; and the various human languages differ in merit according as they are capable of expressing each and every thought which enters into the mind of man Language should also be capable of translating accurately the speech and thoughts of one people into those of another people. Now it is possible to render into English and into several other languages with very reasonable accuracy anything that the Chinese write or say; but from early times the Chinese themselves have experienced difficulty in translating the works of other peoples into their own language. Let me take first the case of a famous Chinese mistranslation from the Buddhist *sutras*. In the Sanskrit version of the *sutras*, from which the Chinese translated, Buddha is very frequently called *avalokiteçvara*. This is a campound word and it may be analysed as follows: *Ava* is a preposition and means "over": *lokita* is the participle of the verb *lok* "to look": and *ava-lokita* means "over-looking." Now there is in Sanskrit a set of phonetic laws, called *Sandhi*, governing the manner in which vowels and consonants are combined; and one of these laws prescribes that, when the vowels *a* and *i* meet, they merge into the vowel sound *e*. Bearing this law in mind and resolving the letter *e* in *avalokiteçvara* into its component parts, we find that the latter half of the compound is the word *içvara* meaning "sovereign." The whole compound, therefore, is a description of Buddha as the sovereign who overlooks mankind from above. But the Chinese translators knew nothing of *sandhi*, and they also failed to take note of the fact that there are in Sanskrit three sibilants, which western scholars transliterate S, Ç and Sh respectively. Accordingly they analysed the compound *avalokiteçvara* into two component parts *avalokita* and *svara* which they translated as "over looking" (*kun*) and "sound" (*yam*). Of course, the phrase "Overlooking Sound" makes nonsense: but nevertheless the words *Kun-yam* or in Pekingese *Kuan-yin* and in Japanese *Kwannon* have now a very wide vogue and form the name of a much-worshipped goddess in the Buddhist pantheon. May I, however, explain to you the reason why I have gone into such detail concerning this mistranslation? It is because I defy any Chinese scholar, be he a *hon-lam* or even a *chong-yün* to translate what I have just said into Chinese. The Chinese language is such that these thoughts cannot be expressed in it and that Chinese words for much of what I have just said do not exist. The Chinese translators of the Buddhist *sutras* felt this difficulty themselves. There was a time in the earlier period of my service in Hongkong when I amused myself by making a detailed comparison between some of the Sanskrit *sutras* and their Chinese translations. All that I then did went to the bottom of Hongkong harbour with several other manuscripts in the typhoon of 1906; but I well remember that time and again, as I read the Chinese version, I came upon passages which seemed entirely meaningless until I turned to the Sanskrit original, when I found that the Chinese was at these points not a translation but a transliteration from the Sanskrit. The baffled Chinese translator had, in fact, contented himself with reproducing the sound, and not the sense, of the Sanskrit words.

TRANSLATION OF MODERN WRITINGS.

Now I venture to think that, if we pass from ancient to modern times, the difficulties met by the Chinese translators of the Sanskrit *sutras* will be felt in an even greater degree by any one who to-day attempts to translate, say, Hegel's *Logic* or the writings of Einstein into Chinese. But it may justly be said that these works are so abstruse that they present great difficulties in respect of translation into any language whatsoever. Take, therefore, instead such writings as the simplest text-book of English grammar, or of modern geography, history or science: how are they to be translated into a non-alphabetical script? Or consider the case of arithmetic, algebra and trigonometry; is it not clear that no works on such subjects can be translated into Chinese without adopting the whole system of numerical and mathematical notation invented in the west? The fact is that the Chinese language and the Chinese script form an excellent medium for the study of things Chinese, but that Chinese monosyllables and Chinese ideograms are a kind of linguistic bed of Procrustes, into which thoughts and words that are alien to the Chinese can only be forced by such drastic choppings and changings as to render them unrecognizable.

WORK FOR THE FACULTY OF ARTS.

Now, inasmuch as no trueeducational advance in China can be made without an assimilation of western knowledge, it follows either that the Chinese spoken and written language must be modified by the addition to it of an alphabet in a manner similar to that in which the Japanese *kana* supplements the Japanese ideograms, or else that the Chinese people must become bilingual and teach their children some alphabetic foreign language in addition to their mother tongue. A decision between these alternatives will have very far-reaching effects upon the future of China: and I suggest that this problem also may with advantage be studied by the Faculty of Arts in this University. It is a problem which must certainly be faced by the Government of Hongkong in connection with the vernacular schools for which we are responsible both in the Colony and in the new Territories: and upon its solution will depend the future of our system of vernacular education. The old, time-honoured methods of Chinese education have been destroyed with a startling suddenness and no other well thought-out system has yet taken their place. Chinese children no longer begin their school days by committing to memory the Sam Tsz King and the Ts'in Tsz Man and thereafter the Four Books and the Five Classics. The old respect for the "eight-legged essay" has vanished and the ancient scheme of examinations for provincial and national degrees has been abolished. But no standard text-books or authoritative curriculum have so far replaced the methods of bygone days; and here again I think that the Faculty of Arts in this University has before it a wide field for most useful work. The problem is nothing less than the invention of a new medium of education for several hundred million human beings, and its importance for the future of mankind cannot be exaggerated.

I wish to guard myself carefully against any suggestion that the remarks which I have made are intended as a disparagement of the Chinese language and literature. Nothing is further from my thoughts. I have devoted many years of my life to a study of Chinese and my study has left me with a profound admiration of Chinese literature and especially of Chinese poetry. But the Chinese language has in a very real sense "the defect of its qualities." Its best quality is the concise, lucid and picturesque manner in which it portrays Chinese life and thought. Its corresponding defects is that, possibly because it forms so excellent a medium for the study of things Chinese, it is a very refractory medium for the interpretation of Western ideas. It forms indeed a sort of Forbidden City into which anything that is not Chinese can enter only in disguise, if at all. The problem for solution is how best the gates of this Forbidden City may be thrown open.

NEED OF A SECOND LANGUAGE.

I must also guard myself against the misconception that I have any desire to see a reformed Chinese language substituted for English as the medium of instruction in this University. Such an idea is so far from my mind that I would rather give it as my settled opinion that no Chinese can make a really scientific study even of his own language without first acquiring a competent knowledge of some inflexional language and that he will find no language more useful than English for such a purpose. When we look through the eye-piece of a telescope, we see the object in the field of vision, but the telescope itself disappears from view. Similarly when we use our mother tongue as an instrument for the expression of thought, we lose sight of its grammatical, syntactical and etymological peculiarities; and these peculiarities are best brought home to us when we place our native language side by side with another language, or preferably with several other languages, and study them in comparison as it were from outside. I say this as one who has taken a lifelong interest in philology: but as a man of the world and a persistent traveller over the earth's highways and byways, I would add that I greatly cherish the hope that some day a League of Nations will agree to teach all children of whatever race and people from youth upwards one and the same second language in addition to their native language and that this language, common to all people on earth, should be the English language. World-wide action on these lines would, I firmly believe, do more to promote peace and goodwill among different races and nations than can ever be effected by treaties or conventions.

NEW USES FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

Such a hope will not be fulfilled in our lifetime: but may I in conclusion take up a more lowly standpoint and suggest that the austere manner in which the Chinese language frowns at everything which is not Chinese perhaps accounts for the fact that so many Europeans live for years in Hongkong and in the Chinese treaty ports without making any effort to speak or to read the Chinese language? Accordingly the peculiar compradore system has come into being and we have a whole host of intermediaries between the Westerners and the Chinese. Only Government officials and missionaries, as a rule, can deal direct with the Chinese who surround them, and hence arise many regrettable misunderstandings. In this matter there seems to be room for give and take. The Chinese admittedly desire to acquire Western learning. They should, therefore, endeavour to make their language a more flexible medium for conveying western thought. The Europeans wish to trade with the Chinese. They should, therefore, make a sincere effort to acquaint themselves with the Chinese language. If Government officials and missionaries can do so, why cannot the merchants follow suit? It would pay them handsomely and they would soon find that there is not only profit, but also pleasure, in forming friendships with Chinese gentlemen of the old school, who may perhaps not have been westernized as is the case with many of the younger generation, but who in intelligence, uprightness and good manners have nothing to learn from the West. Here again I think that the Hongkong University has before it a wide sphere of usefulness: and I propose as soon as possible to enquire how far the Faculty of Arts can assist the Hongkong Government in the higher education of our cadets in the Chinese language and generally in things Chinese and also to ascertain what arrangements can be made to afford similar facilities in the University for young English business-men, who look forward to making a career in China: because important though it is for this University to interpret Western thoughts and aspirations to China, it is no less important that it should adequately interpret Chinese thoughts and aspirations to the West."

THE CHARACTER OF HAMLET

In an age like the present era when the Shakespear cult has become world-wide and libraries are not spacious enough to contain all the volumes of Shakespearean literature, to take up one's pen to write on the character of Hamlet, which, to use a hackneyed expression, is a thrice-told tale, can mean only one of two things: either the writer is the hero of a veritable Dunciad or a Hugo Grotius, "Of whom," says Dr. Johnson, "every learned man has perhaps learned something." The present writer is afraid of both these extremes. He is reluctant to be catalogued with the greatest fool of whom Pope was the lucky discoverer. At the same time he is honest enough to admit the truth that he is not worthy to unloose the latchet of Grotius's shoes.

Every dramatist or novelist is in one sense a creator. The only difference between him and the Arch-Creator is that the former cannot invest his creatures with a human form. This difference excepted, in all other respects the creations of both resemble one another in the minutest details. But the absence of this flesh and blood makes the dramatist's creations sometimes live longer than an ordinary mortal. Shakespeare lived and died centuries ago. He created Hamlet from out of the materials already existing and breathed life therein. The creator departed from us long long ago—so long that his very existence at some time past is disputed now, but his creation is still alive. The lease of life granted to Hamlet seems to be permanent. We hope he would never die.

Hamlet is the prince of Shakespeare's creations. Born with a silver spoon in his mouth he is made to suffer the worst pangs which flesh is heir to. He is made of a stuff which is essentially human. The divulgence of the secret from the lips of a disembodied spirit, which otherwise he would never have known, sheds an undying lustre on the imaginative trait of his character. The memorable meeting at dead of night between the father's ghost and the son and the behest which he is asked to execute, make him turn over a new leaf in his otherwise happy and easy life. "Blood cries out for blood." The disclosure is appalling. In one sense it distracts him and robs him of sanity. In another sense it transports him to a higher sphere—the sphere of abstraction. Sanity makes us cold, calculating while imaginativeness, though it makes us impulsive and brooding, keeps us always on a plane where there is nothing mean or petty.

We know his madness is feigned. It is a mask with which he avoids the shrewd gaze of his incestuous uncle. Man after man is sent to unravel the mystery of his madness, but he throws them off the scent and so cleverly manages to hide his own grievous thoughts, that, up to the last, Claudius, though suspicious because guilty, has no clear idea that his nephew has been apprised of every detail of his foul deed. Even Polonius becomes a prating fool in the arduous task of espionage. The usurper of the throne leaves no stone unturned to unearth the cause of the deep-seated melancholy of his nephew and blooming Ophelia who should have been the partner of his joys and sorrows is used as a bait to lure him.

Hamlet's indulgence in abstraction is construed as his natural indolence. He is called dilatory and wavering. To be avenged on the person that wears the crown is far from being easy. The "damned Dane" is always guarded and keeps the disconsolate nephew at an arm's length. Hamlet is not a scheming and designing man. Descended from a noble father, he is humane and gentle by nature. His is the righteous indignation. His purpose is holy, though to be effected by man-slaughter. One who has poisoned his father, stained his mother's reputation, usurped the throne which justly, rightly and lawfully belongs to him, is a blot on the face of the earth. Such a blot must be wiped out at any cost. To be kind and lenient to such a man is to show one's innate worthlessness and impotence. But the task is stupendous. It requires a steadfast aim, a grim determination, an iron will and a suitable opportunity. Come what may, he must obey the ghost's command. As a nightmare it sits tight on him. As a dutiful son—a son that regards his father as his earthly creator, the disclosure of this atrocious crime stops his breath with bewilderment, retards the genial flow of blood in his youthful veins, darkens the outlook of his life and makes this earth a hellish abode. Happiness departs forever from him. He finds himself tossing in a gulf of despair—the outcome of his maddening grief.

It is common knowledge that too much mental excitement paralyses our activity. It blurs our vision and keeps us brooding and melancholy. The outer senses—the sinews of work, are benumbed and there is an abnormal concentration of all forces within. The afflicted person in his sore grief passes, as it were, into a region of darkness where he gropes to find a way out. He scarcely knows what to do, where to go, how to move, unless there is a sympathetic soul to guide him.

The storm raging within him makes him so inexpressibly restless that he seeks for a quiet place where he can give vent to his pent-up feelings of grief or remorse. His heart beats infinite times faster than in the normal state, and strains his blood, weakens his limbs and brings in a state of stupor. He faints under the crushing load of misery. Life becomes gall to him. He thinks of escaping from the fetters that tie him hand and foot. If he is desperate by nature, he takes his own life. If, however, he is timid or gentle, he wavers, and vacillates.

Hamlet is accused of being a dreamer. Does not the idea of dreaming evoke in us a sense of lethargy—an unpardonable failing? Could he dream when his griefs were so poignant, so piercing, so intense? He is judged by the ordinary standard. A greater injustice than this cannot be done unto him. If we have ears to hear, his soliloquy on suicide would give us an insight into the workings of his heart. Not a single soul is there to extend a helping hand to him when he falls on evil days, except his friend, the scholar Horatio. This faithful companion of his young days clings to him till he drops down dead. Horatio follows him like the very shadow of his body and by his faithful love induces Hamlet to unseal his bosom, about to burst with ever-expanding sorrows. Horatio has no earthly consolation to give him, cannot devise any means for a speedy fruition of his distracted friend's purpose—the one unalterable purpose of being avenged. The scholar is not a pedant and makes no display of his bookish lore. Learning has imparted to him an unobtrusiveness which makes him so agreeable to Hamlet. Horatio's heart is full of the milk of human sympathy. He measures the deep ravine wherein his friend's foot has slipped, raises no hue and cry, offers no conventional words of consolation because he finds that Hamlet's case is hopeless. His silent sympathy is more eloquent than a hundred tongues. He stands by Hamlet through all his trials and even helps the dying soul with the poisonous chalice only to keep his last request. Such friendship is rare in an evil world like this and we congratulate Hamlet, otherwise poor, on this priceless treasure.

But have I not said that his griefs lay beyond human consolation? There was one thing which could have pacified his troubled spirit—the confession of Claudius in sincere repentance. " Blessed are they that mourn." But Claudius is more afraid of man than God. He confesses his guilt to God and tries to pray. But pray he cannot for he knows he is possessed of the " effects " of murder. His guilt makes him a coward. His cowardice makes him crooked. His crookedness contrives to destroy Hamlet. For his wicked contrivance, he is paid back in his own coin. The chalice which was set apart for poor Hamlet is drunk by the unhappy Queen. Inscrutable are the ways of God. Her eyes close forever in everlasting sleep. But she dies not in peace. Her only son is engaged in a mortal duel with the formidable Laertes. Claudius can no longer dupe her. She is before a grim reality which is to end in tragedy. What an ordeal it is for a nervous mother!

Mr. Verity says, " The Chemistry of criticism has evolved no Hamlet Formula." With due deference to this learned editor's comment my reply is—Put the ingredients of hypersensitiveness, imaginativeness and blinding grief in the crucible of criticism, heat it in the lurid flame of furious indignation and you get the synthetic Hamlet. Is Hamlet's character beyond critical comprehension? Would others have acted in a different way from Hamlet if placed in a similar plight and possessed of his calibre of mind? My answer is a simple no. He acts quite naturally and unless a critic has insight into imaginative characters, he is bound to misjudge him. Hamlet walks upon the earth not as a man with whom everything goes all right. He is a man the like of whom we do not very often meet in our everyday life. He is extremely sensitive.

Hamlet is not to be grouped with the average run of mankind. He belongs to that rare species of human nature in whom the feeling predominates over other attributes of the mind or the heart. He lives in a sphere peopled by his imagination. His virtues are great and so are his failings. Such a man is very rarely happy. His introspective nature penetrates into the heart of every conceivable movement of which he is a witness and anything that goes against his moral sense evokes his passion and makes him unhappy. He is a critic not made but born. The world with its conventions is stale to him. He does not believe in compensation and compromise. He is not affected by what is sentimental, makes no show of his sorrows. He is reserved. He broods over his own wrongs, gives no utterance to his pent-up feelings except in soliloquy and weeps unseen by others.

He cannot fly to the bosom of his mother because he cannot get her all to himself. He pines for his father in silence. He will not see his like again. The depth of his feelings is aptly expressed by himself, "I have that within which passeth show." How truly does he depict his own condition! How could it be otherwise with a man who is in the border-land of life and death!

Every mortal thing repels him. This fleshy covering of life is a bloated mass of matter, too ugly for his grief-stricken eyes. The earth he inhabits is a charnel house emitting a stinking smell. But what appears to him bitterest is woman—an embodiment of infirmity. "Frailty—thy name is woman." To a child, the mother is the embodiment of all that is sweet and holy. In his estimation no one can surpass her in point of excellence. Her conduct is beyond all reproach. Her word is law to him. Her affection flowing from her heart with a natural spontaneity, knowing no bounds and regardless of time and place, keeps him alive.

But what does Hamlet find? While yet the eyes are wet with tears of bereavement, his mother marries. Such indecent haste! Good God! A beast would have waited longer. She marries—marries whom? His uncle—his father's brother—but no more like his father than he is like Hercules. What a choice? Sure enough, this is a depravity which cannot be too strongly condemned. Is this world an abode of fiends let loose! He wants to go to some other region which is not "a sterile promontory."

Polonius, the type of the wise who roam but never soar, is by nature incapable of appreciating Hamlet's attachment for Ophelia. His instructions are pregnant with practical wisdom. Polonius is an infallible guide to lead us safe through the vicissitudes of this earthly life.

Men of Polonius' type are indifferent to what is eternal and immutable in man and the false glamour of all mortal things befools them to the top of their bent. Both son and father show a nervous fear for Hamlet's leaning towards Ophelia—a beauty in bloom.

> "The sweetest thing that ever grew
> Beside a human door."

She is a denizen of the paradise of love where Hamlet is her honoured guest. In the "dark opprobrious den" of Elsinore Hamlet finds himself a captive. He has a heart that pulsates with life. This heart has its natural cravings. These natural cravings are irrepressible and defy the limitations imposed by the dry and cold rules of a conventional society. Life divorced from love to a young heart, glowing with the ardour of passion, is death in life—a dullness unimaginable. He feels an instinctive attraction for Ophelia, breathing the aroma of sweetness in the nauseating atmosphere of court-life.

What a poison Laertes and his worldly-wise father breathe into Ophelia! The lovers are separated never to be united again. How tragic their end! Young Laertes who is brought up in the school of his father has the fairness to admit that Lord Hamlet's love for his sister was "perhaps" as yet free from all sordid stains. This "perhaps" shows what a sceptic he is gradually transformed into. Laertes cannot get rid of the hard fact that Hamlet belongs to the royalty whereas his sister is descended from a commoner and this makes a world of difference. Is love possible between a prince and a peasant girl? His "perhaps" is qualified in the very next sentence by "but."

How can a brother who feels a genuine affection for his sister, keep his eyes closed against such an obvious fact? Hamlet is destined to succeed to the throne. In point of wealth and dignity—he is second only to their Majesties.

But so far as freedom of will is concerned, he is worse than the poorest subject. He cannot choose his own bride. In a matter where personal liking is the primary thing to be considered, he is dependant on others. Laertes concludes with cold moral lessons. His advice to his sister, so far as earthly wisdom goes, is highly commendable. She is warned against Hamlet's advances because she must take it as an axiomatic truth that she cannot be the queen when Hamlet becomes the king.

Both Laertes and Polonius are determined to stamp out the loving impression of Hamlet from Ophelia's mind. The sarcastic vein and the bantering tone in which Polonius denounces Hamlet's vows and protestations of love are quite in keeping with the character of a man who has too much of the earth—earthy in him. Laertes did not suspect Hamlet of any impious motive. But this so-called wise father vilifies Hamlet in a language which is but a shade below Billingsgate. The long and short of his advice is that Lord Hamlet comes to her to rob her of her chastity. Ophelia is a poor-spirited girl, otherwise she would have left that spot burning with indignation. How could she stand this disgrace at the hands of her own father? Could malignity go further than this? She knew she was sinless—nay as chaste as Diana. She knew Hamlet—his spotlessly clean nature. She is struck dumb.

Hamlet comes to Ophelia with a mind swept by a tempest of passion. The sight frightens her. She cares not to know what has caused such a terrible transformation. She lets him go without a word, without a look,—without a sigh! She has turned her soft and pliant heart into one of flint as she was commanded. Oh the cursed command! She is enjoined to obedience! Woe betide such obedience! If obedience makes us inhuman, converts our heart into adamant, stops our ears with molten lead and arrests the flow of tears in our eyes—it is better to be disobedient with all the sweet gifts which nature bestows on man than be obedient but inhuman. The love letters are returned. The interviews are denied. These alone are killing to a lover whose heart glows with warmth of love. The chill blast of indifference exasperates the lover and drives him into despair. Hamlet knew nothing of the cause of Ophelia's indifference. The depth of his love is disclosed in the letter which is placed by Polonius before Claudius. What a shame! A father reading the love-letter addressed to his daughter by her lover! Polonius rushes into the sacred precincts of the heart, breaks open the door and lays his unholy hand upon the altar which is decked with roses and lilies offered by the devotee to his deity.

I wish Hamlet should have been concealing himself somewhere near the place where Claudius tries to wash his guilt-stained mind in tears of repentance. To my mind, such a clear confession and disburthening of a heart smitten with the remorse of a guilty conscience, would have eased, if not pacified his extreme anguish. He would have stood aghast at the sight of the struggling wretch who tries to pray but cannot. He comes on the scene a moment too late. Yet such a high-souled youth is he that he forbears the temptation of striking a man kneeling in prayer, be he his worst enemy. The hungry beast of revenge growls at the sight of its victim, lashes its tail in impatience but does not pounce upon it. If there is any potency of sterling merit in man it is the power of his prayer in the sincerity of his soul, like an unsophisticated child laying bare his bosom of trifling acts of transgression before his loving mother.

How soft is Hamlet's heart! The loud wails of Laertes over Ophelia's corpse, lowered down to the last resting place melts his heart and brings him out of his hiding place. He leaps into the grave to have a last look of the image he adored in his heart. Who knows that man as he is, his only consolation in a sorrow-laden life did not lie in the sweet thought of Ophelia? Polonius had parted the lovers physically but in the domain of love, he had no permission to enter. In a soft corner of Hamlet's heart lived the image of love which found its living personification in Ophelia. At such a sombre moment when all disputes should be hushed and strifes laid aside, Laertes rushes madly towards Hamlet to throttle him. His surprise is unspeakable. The mortal remains are awaiting interment. But Laertes has drunk deep of the poison of grief. His passion of revenge infuriates him and brings out the beast in him. He would kill Hamlet on the spot, if he could, where lay his sister's remains, not yet covered over with sod. But Hamlet cares not a pin for his own life. He is attacked in an unguarded moment and that too when his whole being is shattered to pieces by a new grief. All through his life he has been the victim of conspiracy. His grief is infinitely greater than Laertes. It lay not in Laertes' power to injure Hamlet clothed in the armour of purity. But what a forgiving soul he is! He forgets that Laertes was the aggressor. He is incapable of wronging anybody, far less Laertes for whom he bears a brotherly love. He speaks in the sincerity of his soul when he makes an apology to Laertes. It is not for the purpose of shirking the risks of a combat that he sugars his words. By nature he is brave as a lion and loving as a ministering angel. He cares not for his own safety. Fear is unknown to him. Osric's description of Laertes' skill neither excites his jealousy nor makes him uneasy. He believes in his own strength. This belief begets confidence in him. This confidence steels his heart with courage. This courage emboldens him to look every man in the face. This fearless disposition is the reward of his sinless nature. What a terror he was to Claudius till the poor sinner, entangled in his own meshes, fell bleeding never to rise again. Laertes appreciates him when it is too late. But how weak is Laertes whose views cannot extend beyond the pale of hide-bound custom! On the eve of the duel, the frank avowal of Hamlet's love appeals to him, but he is afraid to take his opponent within his embrace. He stands aloof, stiff and cold. Like so many unthinking mortals, whose name is legion, he acts against his own nature. Did not Polonius ask him to remember above all things, "To thine own self be true?" A more precious advice than this was never uttered by human lips.

Hamlet is not a man of action but of contemplation. He lives in a plane somewhat higher than where we ordinarily roam. His whole life abounds with illustrations of his contemplative life. This has been the root cause of his procrastination for which he has been so unjustly censured. But why should a man be blamed because he is born with a deformity—if to be contemplative is a deformity at all! Hamlet is not indolent. No doubt the vice of indolence is most prominent in princes and rich heirs. But Hamlet is not a fortune's minion. Is the delay then due to his indecision? How can a man of Hamlet's lofty morals act decisively at the instigation of a ghost? A confirmation is necessary and an unsolicited opportunity for re-assurance he takes hold of. Such indecision is an eloquent tribute to his preference for the path of rectitude. Claudius may be innocent of the suspected crime. A mischievous spirit might have assumed the appearance of his deceased father. But his mother's faithlessness is indefensible. Why should she marry at all? Is she not the widow of no less a man than the buried Majesty of Denmark? In his heart burns the hell-fire and dries up his blood. No sooner does the queen come to Hamlet than she is scorched. His words are more piercing than a dagger, more stunning than cannon balls. The mother trembles before the son and implores his forgiveness. Her guilt is proved to the hilt. She has not a word to say in self-defence. Her dormant soul rises at last from slumber; the awakening is rude.

Hamlet's achievement in the domain of action is poor no doubt. He compares unfavourably with the heroes of Thermopylae or Waterloo in deed. The empire for which they fought has been overthrown, their very land-marks obliterated. Hamlet's empire is more unsubstantial yet more real. Laertes' poison has dissolved his mortal frame, but the finer, more ethereal spirit in him still lives, with undiminished vigour. His soliloquy, muttered to himself is more piercing than the mad yells of opposing forces rushing furiously to death or the clash of steel breaking like splinters in the orgies of blood. In this Vanity Fair, action triumphs over contemplation for the time being, and commands "the applause of listening senates."

I would not have been the least surprised if Hamlet, instead of seeking for revenge, had withdrawn himself into a monastery, not to study theology or to undergo penance, but to behold with vision undimmed and mind unshaken, how the kingdom based on sin crumbles to dust or topples down like a pack of cards. Most people live on borrowed thoughts. The average man is guided not by the subtle questionings and promptings of his own heart. The ordinary soldier awaits the signal of the commander. But history records the Commander and not the soldier as the hero of the tragedy of a battle. What we call action is nothing but thoughtless bustle. The spirit asserts itself over the flesh—this is the eternal law and in obedience to this supreme law Hamlet has outlived many a vain hero!

RASH RANJAN BASU

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL SOCIETIES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY BENGAL

In any survey of the channels of western influence in Bengal, along with the educational institutions, are to be considered various societies, some of them extremely short-lived, some living to a good age, which sprang into existence from time to time in the nineteenth century, and which were organised attempts on western lines to promote literary and intellectual culture in the country. There was nothing like this in Bengal in the pre-British days—the idea of dependence on the state was no longer to be found; when state patronage was not forthcoming people had to learn to group together for self-improvement, to take the initiative and concert measures for the spread of knowledge and growth of literature. Some had distinct educational aims in their programme, which they sought to realise by means of schools and colleges, some were concerned merely with publications in the vernacular, while others there were which were social and intellectual clubs for discussing and throwing light on various problems. It is not pretended that the list given here is an exhaustive one; that is impossible from the very nature of the case; at this distance of time our knowledge of them cannot be perfect. All the same, it is imperative for a correct appreciation of their influence, to know as many and as much of them as possible.

The Calcutta School Book Society.

And of these, the most important, so far as the merely educational work was concerned, was The Calcutta School Book Society established in 1817, which started with the object of the preparation, publication, and cheap or gratuitous supply of works useful in schools and seminaries of learning, religious (but not moral) books being excluded, and the several languages, English and

Asiatic, taught in the provinces under the jurisdiction of Fort William receiving its first attention. Messrs. Carey and Roebuck who were prominent in the affairs of the College of Fort William were on the Committee of the Society, which was composed of sixteen Europeans and eight Indians. The Indian members were equally divided into the Hindus and the Mahomedans, the Hindu members being Mrittunjaya Vidyalankar, Babu Radhakanta Dev, Babu Ram Kamal Sen, Babu Tarini Charan Mittra, and the Mahomedan gentlemen, Maulvi Abdul Wahed, Maulvi Currum Hussain, Maulvi Abdul Hamid and Maulvi Muhammad Raschid. One of the three sub-committees of the Society was concerned exclusively with Sanskrit and Bengali. The first year of its life was spent in simply organisation work. It arranged with the Serampore Press for the supply of books like the following :—

গণিত
লিপিধর
শুভঙ্কর কৃত আর্য্যা
জমিদারী কাগজ
দিগ্‌দর্শন

(a newspaper issued by the Serampore missionaries)—About a thousand copies of each issue were disposed of by the Society,...........and the publication of an Abhidhāna by Rām Chandra Sarmā.

Later on we note three Hindu gentlemen engaged in translating Fergusson's Astronomy into the Bengali language, soliciting the help of the Calcutta School Book Society for pecuniary assistance to proceed with their work. The second year 1818-19 appears to be the most prolific in point of output. Among the publications we may mention :—

A second Edition of Stewart's Seven Folio Fables printed at Serampore.
An octavo edition of the same printed at Chinsura.
Introductory Bengali Fables.
Radhakanta Dev's Bengali Spelling Book.

Nitikatha or Moral Fables on the model of Æsop issued conjointly by Tarini Chandra Mittra, Radhakanta Dev and Ram Kamal Sen.

Tarachand Datta's Monoranjan Itihas (a bilingual history, English and Bengali being printed on opposite and alternate pages).

Upadeshakatha, translated on the same plan from Stretch's Beauties of History.

Goldsmith's History of England translated by Mr. Felix Carey.

বিদ্যাহারাবলী Vidyaharabalee or Bengali Encyclopaedia by the same.

Pearson's translation of Dr. Bell's instructions (*selections*) for the guidance of " Native " teachers.

In the third year of its existence, 1819-20, A New Grammar of the Bengali Language was prepared by Rev. Mr. Keith, গোলাধ্যায় Golādhāya was prepared by the missionaries of Serampore, Pearce's ভূগোল বৃত্তান্ত and Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Geography, Pearson's Familiar Letters or পত্রকৌমুদী were completed. The utility of the Society was so satisfactorily proved that similar institutions were started at Madras and Bombay. The Supreme Government came to its help with a capital grant of Rs. 7,000 and a non-recurring grant of Rs. 500 per month. Let us conclude this brief account of the Society with the remarks made by His Excellency the Marquis of Hastings with reference to it on the 15th August 1818, in connection with the 17th Public Disputation in the Oriental Languages, College of Fort William:

" There is a public object connected with the best advantages which we contemplate from the College, that I cannot close this address without expressing the happiness I have derived from observing the progress of that useful association entitled The Calcutta School Book Society, in extending to the natives of this country the benefit of European Science and Morals. The Institution has yet been only a year in existence, but the number of tracts and elementary books, which have been translated from English and other languages, evinces an activity of zeal for the diffusion of useful knowledge, in the highest degree creditable to those who have associated themselves together for the promotion of this especial object. Their efforts have not, however, been confined to this department, they have further been instrumental in preparing and circulating elementary Books of Instruction in the Sciences and Languages of the country, and it is impossible to look forward to the efforts which their continued exertions will produce, in extending the means and improving the mode of education that prevails among the several classes of the native population, without forming a happy presage of the advance that will be made by the coming generation in general and technical knowledge."—(*Annals of the College of Fort William, p. 580.*)

The Calcutta School Society.

As early as 1814 the necessity was felt for a Society whose business it would be to establish schools. The School Book Society was engaged in supplying books adapted to the use of schools, but, for its utility and successful working, it had to depend on the existence or establishment of schools throughout the length and breadth of the country. The success of the School Book Society emboldened the organisers and the Calcutta School Society was duly and formally started on the 1st September, 1818, with the supplementary object of helping and improving existing schools and starting new ones. Mr. Hare and Sj. Radhakanta Dev were its joint secretaries. It established two regular schools—one at Thanthania and the other at Champatala—which were to act as model institutions and did not exact any fees. The two schools were amalgamated in 1834, and became afterwards known as David Hare's School. There were also other schools under the supervision of the two Societies which worked conjointly. In the first three months the School Society got Rs. 9,899 as contributions and Rs. 5,069 as annual subscription, chiefly from the Hindus. Its later career is not important from our point of view.

The Calcutta Indigenous Literary Club.

I have not yet come across any history of the Calcutta Indigenous Literary Club, but a book bearing the impress of the Club is in the Radhakanta House, Shovabazar—"Robinson's Grammar of History," published in 1832.

অর্থাত রাবিন্‌সন্‌ কর্ত্তৃক ইতিহাস সারসংগ্রহ কলিকাতা ইণ্ডিজিনাস্‌ লিটরারি সভা কর্ত্তৃক গৌড়ীয় সাধু ভাষায় কমিটি অব্‌ পব্‌লিক ইন্‌স্ট্রক্‌শনের আদেশে প্রকাশিত হইল—

((লেবেণ্ডিয়র সাহেবের মুদ্রাযন্ত্রে)). On the third page of the book are mentioned the names of the following Hindu gentlemen, who are called the *Adhyakshas.*

শ্রীশিবচরণ ঠাকুর ।
শ্রীঅমলচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় ।
শ্রীঅতুলচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় ।
শ্রীহেরম্বচন্দ্র ঠাকুর ।
শ্রীক্ষেত্রমোহন মুখোপাধ্যায় ।
শ্রীঅবিনাশচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় ।
শ্রীশম্ভুচরণ ঠাকুর ।
শ্রীজয়কৃষ্ণ সেট ।
শ্রীজগচ্চন্দ্র রায় ।
শ্রীরাধাকান্ত সেট ।
শ্রীনসিরাম মিত্র ।
শ্রীসুখময় রায় ।

Unfortunately no other information about this club is available.

The Academic Association.

It would not be fair to pass over the Academic Association started in 1828 by Derozio which met in a garden house belonging to the Singh family of Maniktolla and which claimed Derozio for its President and Umacharan Bose for its Secretary. Occasionally the meetings of the Association were graced with the presence of high officials, and of men like David Hare, who were interested in the intellectual culture of young Bengal. Papers were read and various literary and philosophical topics were broached, even free-thinking doctrines were not allowed to lie outside its scope. The stir which it gave to the Bengali mind is evident from the fact that about a dozen newspapers were started to dwell on the views promulgated by the Association and a large number of debating societies were established on its model. The Association was afterwards removed to Hare's School and Mr. Hare was elected President. Meetings were held once a week. In these, what really counted was Mr. Hare's personal touch as he mixed freely with the young men and accompanied them on their way home, talking all the while on various topics.

The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge.

One of the most sustained and vigorous societies was the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge started in the year 1838, for promoting application to useful studies and mutual intercourse among the educated Hindus. It is not very wide of the mark to suppose that the establishment of the Society was due to a desire to work in a more general and comprehensive way than the Academic Association which was still living but had no great hold on the younger generations. The manifesto issued on the occasion and signed by, among others, Ram Gopal Ghose and Ramtanu Lahiri, contained the statement—"The fate of our Debating Associations, most of which are now extinct, while not one is in a flourishing condition, as well as the puerile character of the native productions that appear in the periodical publications, are lamentable proofs of this sad neglect of knowledge." It was proposed that the delivery of oral or written discourses was to be obligatory on the members, the topics being chosen by the members themselves. In case of failure to comply with this condition, a fine was to be imposed. The first meeting was held at the Sanskrit College Hall at 7 P.M., Monday, the 12th March, 1838. The Society began with nearly two hundred members on its rolls. The discourses were mainly written in English, a few were composed in the vernacular, and the subjects dwelt on were varied in their character—history, poetry, language, social condition of the people, topography, metaphysics, anatomy and physiology. Among the active members might be named the gifted youngmen of the day—Rev. K. M. Bannerjee, Rajnarain Bose, Pearychand Mitra, Gyanendramohan Tagore, Prosonnakumar Tagore, and others. David Hare was the Honorary Visitor and Pearychand Mitra and Ramtanu Lahiri were the Honorary Secretaries.

Among the many subjects which came up for discussion before the Society we may name the following :—

1. Reform, Civil and Social, among educated natives.
2. Topographical and statistical survey of Bankura.
3. Condition of Hindu women.
4. Brief outline of the history of Hindusthan.
5. Descriptive notices of Chittagong.
6. State of Hindusthan under the Hindus.
7. Descriptive notices of Tipperah.
8. The physiology of Dissection.
9. On the importance of cultivating the vernacular language.
10. Poetry.

Almost all the educated Bengalis were enrolled as members. Gyanendramohan Tagore's and Kissorychand Mittra's papers were specially mentioned for they exhibited much talent. The Society met every month in the Sanskrit College Hall. It died about 1843 either of inanition or on account of an outburst of temper on the part of Captain Richardson who was offended when attending a meeting of the Association to hear Dakshinaranjan Mukerjee denounce the British Government in no measured terms. Richardson gave the society a name—the Chakravarti faction—after Tarachand Chakravarti, one of the founders of the Society and a prominent member of the Reform party, for the political animosity which was in evidence.

The Bethune Society.

The Bethune Society was started on the 11th December, 1851, in pursuance to a circular issued by Dr. Mouat to the educated Bengalis of Calcutta requesting them to meet to consider the best means of bringing the educated natives of the city a little more together for the purpose of improvement by intellectual intercourse. The inaugural meeting was held in the Medical College Theatre where Dr. Mouat explained his scheme which was consequently adopted. The new Society was christened after the late President of the Council of Education who had died on the 12th August, 1851, as a mark of respectful tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. It had for its object the promotion of a taste for literary and scientific pursuits, and the encouragement of a freer intellectual intercourse than was possible in those days by other means. The monthly meetings of this Society were held during the cold season at the theatre of the Medical College when discourses on literature or on social or scientific subjects were delivered. In one of these monthly sittings a distinguished Hindu gentleman read a learned paper on "Sanskrit Poetry," concluding with the words—

> "It is in the vernacular field alone that the poets of Bengal can hope to distinguish themselves.—The late John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune, the educator of India's sons and daughters, was most anxious to patronise the vernacular poetry in Bengal. He advised all aspirants after poetical fame to turn their attention to the Bengali language. One of the last acts contemplated by himself was the preparation, by means of a competent Bengali Scholar, of a small volume of vernacular poetry, as well for the use of his female school, as for educational institutions in general."

This shows that Young Bengal was alive to the supreme necessity of the cultivation of vernacular literature.

The Society was active in 1863 when Dr. Duff bade his last farewell to India. Dr. Duff had been elected President of the Bethune Society in 1859 and presided over its various meetings in which eloquent and interesting addresses were given month after month. It was active even in 1866 when Miss Mary Carpenter visited India. It was at a special meeting of the Society presided over by the Hon'ble J. B. Phear that this gifted lady delivered an address on "The Reformatory School System, and its influence on Female criminals." It had a separate section for Sociology but the subject was altogether neglected and did not come strictly within its purview, which was literary and intellectual recreation rather than any purpose of social good.

The Vernacular Literature Society.

Under the Secretaryship of Mr. E. B. Cowell the Society undertook to translate a number of books and to publish a penny magazine, which under the able editorship of Dr. Rajendralall Mittra, the veteran Sanskrit scholar and Librarian of the Asiatic Society, had a circulation of 900 copies and contained in addition to 3 or 4 pictorial illustrations in each number, miscellaneous articles, historical, biographical, etc. The Society offered Rs. 200 for each book written in compliance with its instructions. Some of its publications are mentioned below with the number of their pages and their price:—

		পৃষ্ঠা।	মূল্য।
১।	রবিন্‌সন্ ক্রুশোর ভ্রমণ বৃত্তান্ত, বার খানি চিত্রযুক্ত ...	৩২৬	।৵০
২।	পাল এবং বর্জ্জিনিয়ার জীবনবৃত্তান্ত, চিত্রদ্বয়যুক্ত ...	২৫৫	।৵০
৩।	সেক্সপিয়র কৃত গল্প	২১২	৶০
৪।	মনোরম্য পাঠ	১১৪	৶০
৫।	রাজা প্রতাপাদিত্যের চরিত	৬৩	৵০
৬।	বৃহৎ কথা (প্রথম ভাগ)	১০৯	।০
৭।	হংসরূপী রাজপুত্রাদির বিষয়, এক চিত্রযুক্ত ...	৫৪	/১৫
৮।	পুত্রশোকাতুরা দুঃখিনী মাতা ও নায়কশোকাতুরা দুঃখিনী নায়িকা	৩০	/০
৯।	ছোট কৈলাস এবং বড় কৈলাস	২৫	/০
১০।	চকমকি বাক্স ও অপূর্ব্ব রাজযন্ত্র, এক চিত্রযুক্ত ...	৩০	/০
১১।	মৎস্যনারীর উপাখ্যান	৭৮	৵৫
১২।	চীন দেশীয় বুলবুলপক্ষীর গল্প	২৮	/০
১৩।	অহল্যা হড্ডিকার জীবনবৃত্তান্ত	১১৮	৶৫
১৪।	নূরজাহান রাজ্ঞীর জীবনচরিত	১৮২	।/০
১৫।	বায়ু চতুষ্টয়ের আখ্যায়িকা	৪৬	/১০
১৬।	এলিজিবেথ (*Exiles of Siberia*).		

Among other books we note Hemprava (হেমপ্রভা) a novel written by Babu Dwarikanath Gupta of Mymensingh, and awarded a prize of Rupees Fifty by the Society. The publications were all on sale at a low price, ranging from one anna to ten annas, and on a liberal commission of 25% on big orders. The style of writing favoured by the Society was as a rule Sanskritic.

The Academy of Bengali Language and Literature.

The necessity had long been felt of a central and authoritative body to control the extravagances of the new growth. In 1872, Mr. John Beames, I.C.S., Magistrate of Balasore, wrote :—

> " Bengal has so completely taken the lead in education and culture among the Provinces of India that its literature has passed out of the stage in which that of the other provinces still remains, and is now closely approximating to an European standard."

In its very growth lay the danger of there being anarchy or lawlessness in the domain of literature. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, or, as it was originally called, the Academy of Bengali Literature and Language (the name points to the contemplated control over contemporary language and literature as that exerted by the Academy of France) was founded on the 29th April, 1894, with definite aims and objects for the cultivation and improvement of the Bengali language and literature. It is still a living force and is efficiently fulfilling some of its purposes—collection and preservation of old Bengali manuscripts and objects of historical and archæological interest; publication of researches through its quarterly journal by means of the vernacular medium ; publication from time to time of important manuscripts. It has published a Bengali dictionary on scientific lines—has been preparing an authoritative list of scientific and technical terms in Bengali, and has started a number of branch Parishads in the Mofussil districts of Bengal and even outside it. A beginning was made with only 30 members but in its twentieth year it had more than 2,000 on its rolls. This is one of the many indexes into its successful working.

Other Associations.

It is needless to point out again that over and above those already mentioned there were numerous other associations which co-operated with these and acted as more or less active agencies for the conveyance of Western ideas to the country. We may note in passing—

1. The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

It was founded on the 15th January 1784 by Sir William Jones who continued its president for 10 years and more and in whose regime weekly social meetings were held in the evening in the Grand Jury Room for the perusal and discussion of original papers on the history, antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia—selections of these being published in the Asiatic Researches. The Society languished for a time after the demise of Sir William Jones in 1794, and the meetings were held not weekly, but monthly, and in July 1800, we actually find a resolution of meeting only once in a quarter. In 1806, however, Henry Thomas Colebrooke was elected President and that year was formed the project of the Bibliotheca Asiatica—a project never executed—a descriptive catalogue of Asiatic books with extracts and translations. The present site of the building of the Society was a gift from the Government in 1805 and in 1839 the Court of Directors sanctioned a monthly help of Rs. 500. The journal of the Society was officially acknowledged since 1843. It was this society which first of all drew attention to the importance of preserving old manuscripts and publishing them.

2. The Calcutta Female Juvenile Society established by 1820 which, with the Rev. W. H. Pearce for its President, opened schools for young girls in Shambazar, Janbazar and Entally.

3. The Ladies' Society for Native Female Education formed in 1824, of which the schools were made over to the Church Missionary Society and placed under the management of Miss Cooke (afterwards Mrs. Wilson).

4. The annual gathering organised by Iswar Chandra Gupta where on the 1st Baisakh of each year (the Bengali New Year's Day) people of all classes used to come together and were diverted by literary programmes got up for the occasion.

5. The Bengal Social Science Association founded on the 22nd January 1867. The inaugural meeting was held in the Metcalfe Hall when Mr. H. Beverley and Babu Peary Chand Mittra were elected Honorary Secretaries. Miss Mary Carpenter had been invited to lecture on the need of a Society for social science in Calcutta where patient investigation might be made into facts to serve as a basis for legislation. Hence the origin of the Association of which the object was—" to promote social development in the Presidency of Bengal by uniting Europeans and Indians in the collection, arrangement and classification of facts bearing on the social, intellectual and moral condition of the people." Among other papers there was one " Female Occupations in Bengal," read on the 30th January, 1868 by Babu Giris Chunder Ghose, the founder and first editor of the Hindu Patriot and the Bengali.

In conclusion, let us repeat that all these societies, themselves the products of European thought, attempted to prepare the mind of the people to receive that thought and also to make it think on the same lines. The remarkable nature of these Associations may be realised if it is remembered how unique they were in their time and how they helped the assimilation of new thoughts and ideas.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF CHOHAN SUPREMACY IN ORISSA

I

(*A Rejoinder.*)

In the December issue of the Calcutta Review an anonymous writer has set forth the claims of the Chohan rulers of Orissa to the overlordship of the mythical eighteen Garhjat States including the State of Mayurbhanj. Though the writer of this article has chosen to assume a pseudonym it is apparent that it was written or inspired by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, the author of " Sonpur in the Sambalpur Tract" and "Orissa in the Making.'' If Mr. Mazumdar had not raised the question of the suzerainty or overlordship of the Chohan rulers of Orissa in his latest book it would not have been necessary for me to dwell upon it at length. Mr. Mazumdar's statements on this subject have been supported by the anonymous writer who prefers to call himself "X. Y. Z." and therefore it is necessary to give a correct account of the exact historical position and relationship between the chiefs of Mayurbhanj and Chohans.

In the concluding sentences of his article X. Y. Z. tries to claim that the real claims of the chiefs of Mayurbhanj have been "barred by limitation." His idea is that as "the facts relating to Mayurbhanj as were published previously from 1867 to 1916 and were never challenged by any scholar" it is not possible to challenge the authenticity of these statements now. It is needless to dilate upon this point. All serious students of History know perfectly well that nothing is more unreliable in the whole range of historical literature than Modern History. As our knowledge grows Modern History changes much too quickly in comparison with Ancient or Mediaeval History because in modern times the tendency to suppress documents and to camouflage facts is much stronger. The Brahmana Historians of Poona are still trying to prove that Baji Rao I, or Nana Phadnis was greater both in diplomacy and statesmanship and warfare than Chattrapati Maharaja Sivaji. There cannot be therefore any limitation in the domain of pure History.

Two points were raised by X. Y. Z. in his article published in the December number of the Calcutta Review, the first of which is the overlordship of the Chohan chiefs of Orissa over the eighteen Garhjat States. Mr. Mazumdar's pamphlet "Sonpur in the Sambalpur Tract" was published sometime before 1915. In this book Mr. B. C. Mazumdar made his first serious statement about the overlordship of the Chohan rulers.

"The Chohan rulers of Patna became the Rulers of the whole of the Sambalpur tract, and extended their influence far and wide in the hilly tracts of Orissa and Gondowana. It has been recorded by Sir Alexander Grant in his Gazetteer of the Central Provinces (ed. 1867) that the Chohan Chiefs of Patna became the head of a cluster of 18 forest states known as the "Athara Garhjat." That the suzerainty of the powerful Chohan Chiefs of Patna and Sambalpur was acknowledged by the Chiefs of Bamra (previous to the rule of the present line of Rulers), Gangpur, Bonai, Rairakhol, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Bindra-Nowagarh, Sakti, Bora-Sambar, Phuljhar, Boad, Atgarh, Panchgarh, Mayurbhanj, and Keonjhar, has been recorded at page 22 of the District Gazetteer of Sambalpur by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley of the Indian Civil Service."

This paragraph has been reproduced *verbatim* at page 226 of Mr. Mazumdar's "Orissa in the Making." On the next page Mr. Mazumdar states "It is reported that some old records disclosed the fact that the Chohan Rajas of Patna and Sambalpur issued orders of demand of revenue from time to time upon some Chiefs of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj; it is regrettable that no trace of those records can now be obtained though they were inspected either by Sir A. Grant himself or by his responsible assistants some time previous to 1862."

There are two extremely regrettable lapses from sober facts in the extracts from Mazumdar's publications quoted above. In the first place there is no such work as a Gazetteer of the Central Provinces written or compiled by a man named Sir Alexander Grant published in 1867. The British Museum catalogue of printed books (publications of the Government of India) mention only one Gazetteer of the Central Provinces published in 1867-68. One copy of this publication exists in the Imperial Library at Calcutta. It is entitled "Gazetteer of the Central Provinces, Nagpur printed and published by M. Lawlor at the Chief Commissioner's office press." It is divided into six parts, the first of which was published in 1867 and the sixth in 1868. Then history of Sambalpur is given at pp. 457-64. In these pages there is no reference to the overlordship of the

Chohan rulers of Sambalpur over Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. In page 458 it is stated that Bulliar Sing "left his country with a large army on an expedition to Pooree, conquering Boad and other places *en route*." From this statement it cannot be inferred that Baliar Singh conquered Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar; because Baud or Boad lies on the direct route to Puri while Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar lie to the north of the old road which runs from Sambalpur, through Rairakhol, Angul, Dhenkanal and Cuttack. Sir Alexander Grant, the only person of that name known in the British period of Indian History belonged to the Education Department. He came to Madras in 1859 as Inspector of Schools and served till 1862. He became the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University in 1863 and served in that province till 1868. He is not known to have served in the Central Provinces in any capacity during his brief stay in India.

The next Gazetteer of the Central Provinces was compiled by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Grant and was published in 1870. In the title page of this book it is called "The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India, edited by Charles Grant, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, second edition, Nagpur, 1870; printed at the Education Society's Press, Bombay." In the preface Grant stated that "in 1867 a Gazetteer was published for these provinces with the following remarks from Sir R. Temple, the then Chief Commissioner............The impression of the earlier numbers was soon exhausted, and it became a question whether they should be reprinted. On revision of the sheets, however, so many inaccuracies unavoidable perhaps in a first attempt of the kind were discovered, that I undertook to prepare a new edition." It is therefore perfectly clear that the second edition of the Central Provinces Gazetteer edited by Charles Grant is a much more reliable record than the first edition of 1867 with which a man named Sir Alexander Grant had absolutely no connection. When Mr. B. C. Mazumdar mentioned this Sir Alexander Grant in pp. 226-27 of his "Orissa in the Making," the general impression was that he had written the name of Sir Alexander Grant by mistake for Charles Grant. It is perfectly true that Mr. Mazumdar mentions the edition of 1867 in his "Sonpur in the Sambalpur Tract" (p. 47) published in 1911 and in his "Orissa in the Making" (p. 226) published in 1925. As the connection of Sir Alexander Grant with any Gazetteer of the Central Provinces has now turned out to be perfectly mythical we should turn to the second edition of the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces edited by Charles Grant in 1870.

In this work the History of Sambalpur is given at pages 452-57. There is no mention of the suzerainty of the Chohan Chiefs of Sambalpur anywhere in these pages. Let us now turn to the case of the state of Patna. In the first edition of this Central Provinces Gazetteer the history of the State of Patna is given at pp. 482-84. This account is reproduced without any changes at pp. 393-95 of Grant's edition or the second edition. In this account we find the following statement, "Between the reigns of Ramai Deva and Baijal Deva, the tenth Maharaja, or during the period of some three hundred years, Patna obtained considerable accessions of territory, *viz.*, the states of Khariar and Bindra Nowagarh on west, Phuljhar and Sarangarh to the north and Bamail, Gangpur, and Bamra to the north-east, which were all made tributary dependencies; while the Zemindari of Rairakhol, with a tract of land to the eastward on the left bank of the Mahanadi, was annexed. A fort was also erected in the Phuljhar state, and the Chandarpur pargana, also on the left bank of the Mahanadi, was forcibly wrested from the ruler of Ratanpur. Narsingh Deva, the twelfth Maharaja of Patna, ceded to his brother Balaram Deva such portions of these territories as lay north of the river Ong. The latter founded a new state (Sambalpur), which very soon afterwards, by acquisition of territory in every directions, became the most powerful of all the Garhjats; while from the same time the power of Patna commenced to decline.

It is therefore perfectly clear that Mr. O'Malley did not compile and edit the district gazetteer of Sambalpur in 1909 mainly on the basis of the facts recorded in 1867 by Sir Alexander Grant in the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces. It is also perfectly clear to us now that "this very statement regarding the suzerainty of the Chohan rulers "does not occur" in any of the first two editions of the Central Provinces Gazetteer either of 1867 or 1870.

In the Bengal District Gazetteer of 1909 the gazetteer of the district of Sambalpur was compiled by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. At page 22 it is stated about Baliar Singh that his suzerainty was acknowledged by the chiefs of the eighteen Garhjats, *viz.*, Bamra, Gangpur, Bonai Patna, Sonpur, Khariar, Rairakhol, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Bindra-Naugarh, Sakti, Borasambar, Phuljhar, Baud, Athgarh, Panchgarh, Mayurbhanj and Keunjhar." It is not known whether this statement about the suzerainty of Baliar Singh over Mayurbhanj and Keunjhar was supplied to him by any paid agent of the Chohan Chiefs of Orissa or not. Mr. O'Malley himself states in the foot note to p. 23 that "I am indebted to Babu Satyabadi Padhi and Babu Nand Kishore Bohidar of Sambalpur for assistance in preparing this account of the legendary history of Sambalpur." We are not in a position to determine what reasons persuaded Messrs. Satyabadi Padhi and Nand Kishore Bohidar to include the names of Mayurbhanj and Keunjhar in this list because it is certain that the statement is false and that Mr. O'Malley's statement about the suzerainty of Baliar Singh over Mayurbhanj and Keunjhar is fictitious.

X. Y. Z. states that "It has been suggested by a critic of 'Orissa in the Making' that Mr. O'Malley, the editor of the Gazetteer, depends for this statement upon Babu Nand Kishore Bahidar, a clerk in the district office at Sambalpur. Mr. O'Malley has not acknowledged this debt, nor is it probable that the statement was based upon such an authority." Any one who can read English can satisfy himself about the correctness of Mr. O'Malley's indebtedness to Messrs. Satyabadi Padhi and Nand Kishore Bahidar.

Having proved the falsity of Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's statement about the indebtedness of Mr. O'Malley to the Central Provinces Gazetteers of 1867-68 or 1870 and that of X. Y. Z. about the want of reference in Mr. O'Malley's gazetteer to the two Oriya gentlemen referred above, we shall proceed to prove that the information supplied to Mr. O'Malley for the compilation of the Sambalpur District Gazetteer was also false. Major Impey compiled a note on the Garhjat state of Patna in 1863. This note does not appear to have been printed and the MS. is preserved in the office of the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur. Major H. B. Impey was at one time the Deputy Commissioner of the Sambalpur district and his "Notes on the Gurhjat State of Patna" was written in "Camp Deogaon, Ilaqa, Jhorsinga, Patna" and is dated 29-5-1863. This document is absolutely authentic and was examined by Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., when the latter compiled his masterly monograph on "The Territorial System of the Rajput Kingdoms of Mediaeval Chhattisgarh" published in the Journal and proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, new series, Vol. XV, 1919, No. 5, pp. 197-262. It will be sufficient for us to quote Mr. Wills at length to prove conclusively that the materials supplied by the Oriya gentlemen mentioned above for the compilation of the Sambalpur District Gazetteer in 1909 were absolutely false and unreliable.

"Sir R. Temple's list of the Sambalpur Atharagarh is based upon excellent local authority. There is an interesting report entitled 'Notes on the Garhjat States of Patna' by Major H. B. Impey, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, dated 29th May, 1863, which gives an account of the rise of the Sambalpur and Patna confederacy, describes it at a cluster of 'the 18 garhs,' and gives the following detailed enumeration of those states :—"

Impey's list,	*O'Malley's list.*
1. Patna	4. Patna.
2. Sambalpur.	
3. Sonpur.	5. Sonpur.
4. Bamra.	1. Bamra.
5. Rehracole.	7. Rairakhol.
6. Gangpur.	2. Gangpur.
7. Bod.	14. Baud.
8. Athmalik.	
9. Phuljhar.	13. Phuljhar.
10. Bonai.	3. Bonai.
11. Raigarh.	8. Raigarh.
12. Bargarh.	
13. Sakti.	11. Sakti.
14. Chandarpur.	
15. Sarangarh.	9. Sarangarh.
16. Bindranwagarh.	10. Bindra-Nuagarh.
17. Khariar.	6. Khariar.
18. Borasambar.	12. Borasambar.
	15. Athgarh.
	16. Panchgarh.
	17. Mayurbhanj.
	18. Keonjhar.

It is now clear that only fourteen, fifteen if we take Athgarh to be the same as Athmalik, names are common to these lists, Sambalpur, Bargarh and Chandarpur in Impey's list has been replaced by Panchgarh, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. The reason is not very far to seek. Somebody interested in the establishment of the non-existent suzerainty of the Chohan Chiefs over the Garhjat States had kindly persuaded the clerks in the Sambalpur district office to change these names. Such things and such procedure is very common in the history of the Native States of India. Almost every Native State of Central India and Rajputana maintains a 'historical department' of its own which manufactures history according to the whims and pleasure of the occupant of the *Gadi*. One fact is not clear. For what reasons did Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley fail to consult Impey's note and Sir Richard Temple's "Report on the Zamindarees of the Central Provinces" dated 31st October, 1863, with appendices reprinted in 1908. Mr. Mazumdar's omission to consult the reprints even of 1923 can be very easily explained. These were hostile evidences which the advocate of Chohan supremacy in Orissa clearly wanted to avoid. These two records prove definitely that the Chohan Chiefs either of Sambalpur or Patna never exercised any suzerainty over Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar and the suzerainty of Baliar Sing over the eighteen states mentioned in Impey's report is clearly legendary. There is definite evidence which proves that the Chohans of Orissa began as subordinate chiefs. Mr. Mazumdar wants us to believe that "the Chohans of the Sambalpur tract conquered the territories which their descendants inherited........... It goes without saying that "the Chohan Rajas maintained their thorough independence from the time of their acquisition of the States to 1745 when the Marathas of Nagpur subverted the Haihaya kingdom of Bilaspur and Raipur."—Orissa in the Making, pp. 235-36. Writing in 1869 Mr. J. W. Chisholm, I.C.S., says that "the Rajas named in the margin are noted as subordinate, or rather as feudatories of the Hai Hey Bunsee house, which there seems no doubt exercised paramount authority for a long series of years over this thinly populated but extensive eastern tract of the present Central Provinces:—

1. Sambalpur.
2. Patna.
3. Khuriar.
4. Bustar.
5. Kharond.
6. Sarungur.
7. Sonpoor.
8. Raigurh.
9. Suktee.
10. Chunderpoor."

—*Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Bilaspur District in the Central Provinces, 1868, Nagpur, 1869, p. 28, para. 56.*

This report is based on a revenue book of the period of Kalyan Sahi (Kullian Sai) about which Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., states that "No suspicion was thrown on them by the few Europeans who examined them and I, therefore, presume that they were genuine records of mediaeval Chhattisgarh."—*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XV, 1919, p. 238.*

It is therefore absolutely certain that the Chohan rulers of Orissa began as humble feudatories and their claims to suzerainty began in 1911 when Mr. B. C. Mazumdar accepted their brief.

A. B. C.

II

(*A Reply.*)

Over the very signature A. B. C. a rejoinder to the article in question appeared only recently in the *BENGALEE,* and in this essay that rejoinder has been reproduced with some amplification here and there. What has given occasion for so much irritation and agitation is merely a line which occurs in a paragraph in the " Orissa in the Making " ; the title of the paper of A. B. C. fully discloses that it is so. In the " Orissa in the Making " it has been distinctly mentioned by the author that for his statement relating to the supremacy of the *CHOHANS* in by-gone days the author depended wholly upon the statement of Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley as recorded in the District Gazetteer of Sambalpur. As such, the supporters of a particular view relating to Mayurbhanj would have been better employed if they were inclined to make an independent research to show up the recklessness of Mr. O'Malley's statement; to make any insinuation in this connexion regarding the motive of Mr. Mazumdar in writing his book is hardly either decent or relevant. It is immaterial whether the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces was executed by Sir *Charles* Grant or Sir *Alexander* Grant, or whether Mr. O'Malley's source of information relating to the fact under review was a written record of a living man. It has not been shown by A. B. C. that the statement of Mr. O'Malley is false; he has only suggested that Mr. O'Malley's source was this or that and the source he imagines to be contaminated one. It should be stated in this connexion that in my article which was published in the December number of this magazine it was distinctly pointed out that Maharaja Sri Ramchandra Bhanja Deo, the late Ruler of Mayurbhanj, was alive when Mr. O'Malley's Gazetteer was published and on perusal of it he did not consider the statement now under controversy either wrong or objectionable.[1]

X. Y. Z.

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[1] The controversy is now closed—Ed., C. R.

Reviews

The League of Nations: By Santosh Kumar Das, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, Tribhubana Chandra College, Nepal; formerly Professor of History and Economics, Bagerhat College; author of "The Economic History of Ancient India." 164 pages. Published by the author at 5-2, Ananda Dutt Lane, Howrah, India. Price Rs. 2.

The author, without going into exhaustive details, in this volume, has ably and in a suggestive way presented a lucid discussion on the merits and usefulness of the League of Nations, to promote world peace. Among other things, the author has given a brief historical background of the basic idea of the League of Nations from ancient times up to the organization of the present League of Nations, and also an outline of the most important features of the activities of the League of Nations—(*a*) Disarmament, (*b*) Mutual Guarantee and Territorial Integrity, (*c*) Recognition of the fact that any circumstance that threatens international peace is of international interest and concern of the League of Nations, (*d*) the Machinery for securing peaceful settlement among nations with the provision of publicity to rouse international public opinion in favour of world peace, (*e*) Application of "sanctions" against nations disregarding the authority of the League in the matter of settling international disputes, (*f*) Mandatory system, etc. In an appendix, the text of the League Covenant is reproduced. This will be helpful to those who will try to refer to the original text of the articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, often mentioned by the author in the body of the work.

The author, in discussing the problem of perpetual war, vigorously opposes the theory that capitalism and international economic rivalry and secret diplomacy are the only causes of all wars, and asserts that the passion of nationalism has much to do with the modern wars. He successfully shows the unsoundness of the "doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat" as a means to promote world peace. "The theory that peoples are peaceful while governments are warlike is one of those baseless figments of the imagination, one of those hopeless illusions of the doctrinaire, which must be dismissed before the first step can be taken towards the rational discussion of the problem of permanent peace.. ...The fundamental error of the Bolshevik theorists lies, I believe, in his conscious or unconscious acceptance of class selfishness as the natural and unavoidable basis of human government" (pp. 17-19).

I cannot agree with the author that Germany has been solely or primarily responsible for the World War, because of her passion for nationalism, and also because of the so-called German conception of State. No doubt Germany had her Treitschke, but England had her Cramb, France had her Delcasse and Poincare, Russia had her Isvolsky, Sazanov and the host of the Pan-Slavists. In the modern time the disease of Imperialism and nationalism and the theory and practice of "my country right or wrong" is not confined to any one State or people. It seems to me that Prof. Sidney B. Fay, of Smith's College, United States, has given the best and most impartial account of the causes of the World War. Author's statements "The Germans sacrificed the rights of man to the rights of the state" (p. 34) and "the diabolical dogmas of nationality-gone-mad had cut Germany off from the communion of her equals, had rendered futile the labour of the Hague potentiaries, had thrown Europe back into the welter of the later Middle Ages" (p. 7), cannot be upheld in the face of the recent researches of British, American, French, German and Russian scholars. In this connection, I may mention the work of Prof. Gooch of England, Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes of America, Prof. Herman Lutz and host of others in Germany, particularly the monumental work of "Die Grosse Politik" based upon the documents from the German Archives, and the valuable work "The Entente Diplomacy and The World War" by De Sibert and Schreiner. Even the writings of Dr. James Brown Scott on Germany's responsibility for the World War is now absolutely out of date.

The idea of a League of Nations, to settle international disputes, is a sound one and this must be fostered. However there is not the least doubt, and even the most enthusiastic advocates of the League will have to acknowledge, that the League of Nations, as it stands to-day, is not a perfect machinery and thus there is enough room for its improvement. It cannot be denied that the League is dominated by the powerful nations who were among the victors of the World War. The League may not have been originated as a league of the "robber nations" but undoubtedly it came into existence as the League dominated by the most powerful nations among the Victors, *i.e.*, the Allied Powers who wanted to use the League and the World Court as instruments to preserve the spoils of war, acquired by the Treaty of Versailles.

The Victor Powers which have permanent seats in the League Council, have individually and collectively opposed every measure which might have gone against their interests. This can be illustrated from the attitude of

Great Britain in the Opium Conference, her attitude regarding the Egyptian proposal of presenting the question of Anglo-Egyptian dispute regarding Sudan and the murder of Sir Lee Stack, the Italian attitude of refusing to submit to the League's jurisdiction in the Italo-Greek dispute, France's and Spain's attitude regarding the war in Morocco and Syria. It may be also mentioned that the League Council's decision to award to Great Britain, the right of establishing a mandate over the Mosul is a violation of sovereign rights of Turkey. It is generally accepted that this has been done to the interest of preserving British interest in the near East.

Prof. Hornbeck's and the former Secretary of State and Senator Know's arguments against the Article X and the dominating power of the Council of the League of Nations which might be used against the interest of some nations (as quoted by the author), cannot be very easily dismissed. Then again, at the present the League's Council does not adequately represent the interest of the Asian States and peoples. Although the Asian states in the League of Nations represent the interests of more than 800,000,000 people and Asia represents one of the most important field of international, commercial and political competition and thus international disputes among the powerful nations of the world, Japan is the only nation of Asia which has permanent representation in the League Council. Therefore it is desirable that China should have a permanent seat in the League Council.

Prof. Das' views on India's relations with the League of Nations is not only sound, but should receive careful attention of all Indian statesmen. Prof. Das regrets that "unfortunately for us, there are even responsible men in India who deprecate a serious study of International topics.......... It will be a hopeless blunder on our part if we choose to live in an atmosphere of detachment, in a house of isolation, cut off from intercourse with the thought currents of the civilized world" (pp. 1-2). To us it is clear that the future of India is inextricably bound up with world politics and world movements. If this point of view is accepted, then inspite of all the defects of the League of Nations which is after all a diplomatic Assembly of 54 nations, no Indian statesman can afford to ignore its activities. The author rightly points out that by the Art. I of the League Covenant, "any self-governing dominion or colony may become a member of the League. By it, the British dominions have their independent nationhood established and they would always look to the League of Nations Covenant and the Treaty of Versailles as their declaration of Independence" (p. 69).

According to the author India is not properly represented in the League. "She [India] does not enjoy even the right of choosing her own representatives. She is tied to the tail of the British lion and her so-called representatives are nominated by her foreign rulers" (page 107). In this connection we emphasise that India is often misrepresented in the League of Nations, as has been the case in the Opium Conference, in the conference on Arms Traffic and also in the conference on General Security Protocol of the League. It is needless to say that this misrepresentation of India in the League is not the fault of the League, but it will continue to be a fact until India controls her own Foreign Affairs. Alas, very few Indian statesmen even think of making an effective demand that India must have full control over her own Foreign Affairs. India is subjected to heavy financial burden in the form of contribution to the League (pp. 110-112).

The author has summarised the most important achievements of the League of Nations in the First and the Second Assembly of the League and Babu Hari Gopal Banerjee in his 'Foreword' to the book has further described additional achievements of the League. However in the conclusion of the book the author makes the following significant remark "Indeed it is indulging in no unjustifiable cynicism and pessimism if the peoples of the East who suffered in the past from political and economic policies of European powers, refuse to believe in or grow enthusiastic over international Conferences, Leagues and Covenants. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that we have here in the League, under our eyes, the operation of a great ideal" (p. 123). The League of Nations is the most important diplomatic body; and fortunately for India, she is a member of the League. It is up to the Indians to see that the League of Nations may be fully utilised, to promote Indian interests and for the cause of the promotion of world peace. One of the immediate things that can be demanded by India, from the League, is that the number of Indians employed by the League Secretariat, be increased to suit her status of a nation of 320 millions of people and making a very heavy contribution for the up-keep of the League. India should send her most forward-looking scholars of History, Economics, International Law, and World Politics and her best statesmen to the League of Nations, so that they may demonstrate their ability to assume serious responsibilities, and at the same time learn all that can be learnt from the association of the statesmen and scholars sent by 54 nations to represent them in the League.

TARAKNATH DAS

Sakuntala, by H.C., pp. 91+xii, published by Longmans Green and Company.

In this small book the author delineates the story of the immortal work of Kalidas in simple and elegant English. He is a good hand in the art of story-telling, but unfortunately he has introduced a number of unnecessary digressions. The work, though mentioned in the preface as being "based upon and mainly following the work of Kalidas" and being "slightly different in details" only, has actually departed from the original on many broad points. In a few places, a change has been introduced even into the characters of the story. Gautami, Kanva's sister, has turned out in this book as "Kanva's aged wife!" (p. 8). Had the author taken a little more care about such things he would have avoided at least one fault, *viz.*, that of mutilating a classic. Our congratulations go however, to the publishers for the exquisite finish of the design of the cover and the nice get up of the book.

P. S.

Barhut Inscriptions: edited and translated with critical notes by Dr. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (London), and Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A., University of Calcutta (1926).

The stones of the Buddhist Stupa of Barhut are one of the few richest treasures of the Indian Museum of Calcutta. The moment one steps into the Barhut gallery of the Museum one is transported to Maurya-Sunga India twenty-two centuries hence. The *rakta-chandana* colour of the stones, the exquisite lotus designs, the lithic translations of the Jatakas, the votive inscriptions of communal piety of the Indian people: men and women, princes and merchants, headmen (Mahāmukhi) and cavaliers (Asavārika), gardners (Arāmaka) and sculptors (Rupakāraka)—all combining to evoke an ineffable atmosphere of devotion and sacrifice to the glorification of Lord Buddha. No study of Buddhist India is complete without a profound meditation on the monuments of Barhut. These stones speak not only the unique language of a perfectly unsophisticated art, but also the actual vocal inflections of ancient India preserved in the Brāhmi inscriptions which are landmarks in the history of Indian palaeography.

The first study on the monuments was published nearly half a century ago by Sir Alexander Cunningham (Stupa of Bharhut, 1879). Since then the science of *Buddhalogy* has made tremendous strides and consequently we were urgently in need of a fresh and up to date edition of the Barhut inscriptions. This need have now been amply fulfilled by Professor Dr. Benimadhab Barua who has published a capital study in collaboration with his friend Kumar Gangananda Sinha. The editors are not only satisfied with the amelioration of the text and the translations of the inscriptions, they have given valuable grammatical and palaeographical notes recording at the same time the readings and interpretations of other scholars. Thus without imposing any preconceived theory of their own they have faithfully served the cause of science and left the readers to draw their own conclusion. It is this thoroughly scientific attitude and objectivity of judgment which make the works of Dr. Barua and his colleague specially commendable. Moreover the elaborate critical commentary which has been modestly relegated to the "footnotes" is a monument of research. Every nook and corner of the Buddhist literature have been ransacked into in order to supply some precious hints and suggestions towards correct interpretation. Two appendices are of especial importance, one on the ancient geography of India as gathered from the *place names* mentioned in the inscriptions and another on the *personal names and epithets.* Special notes on words like *Bhānaka* and *Bhadanta, Sirimā, Vitura* (Vidura) etc., are condensed monographs, pregnant with suggestiveness. The volume would prove an invaluable handbook for students of Indian epigraphy and for beginners in the study of Buddhism and we warmly congratulate the authors for having produced this much-desired manual.

K. N.

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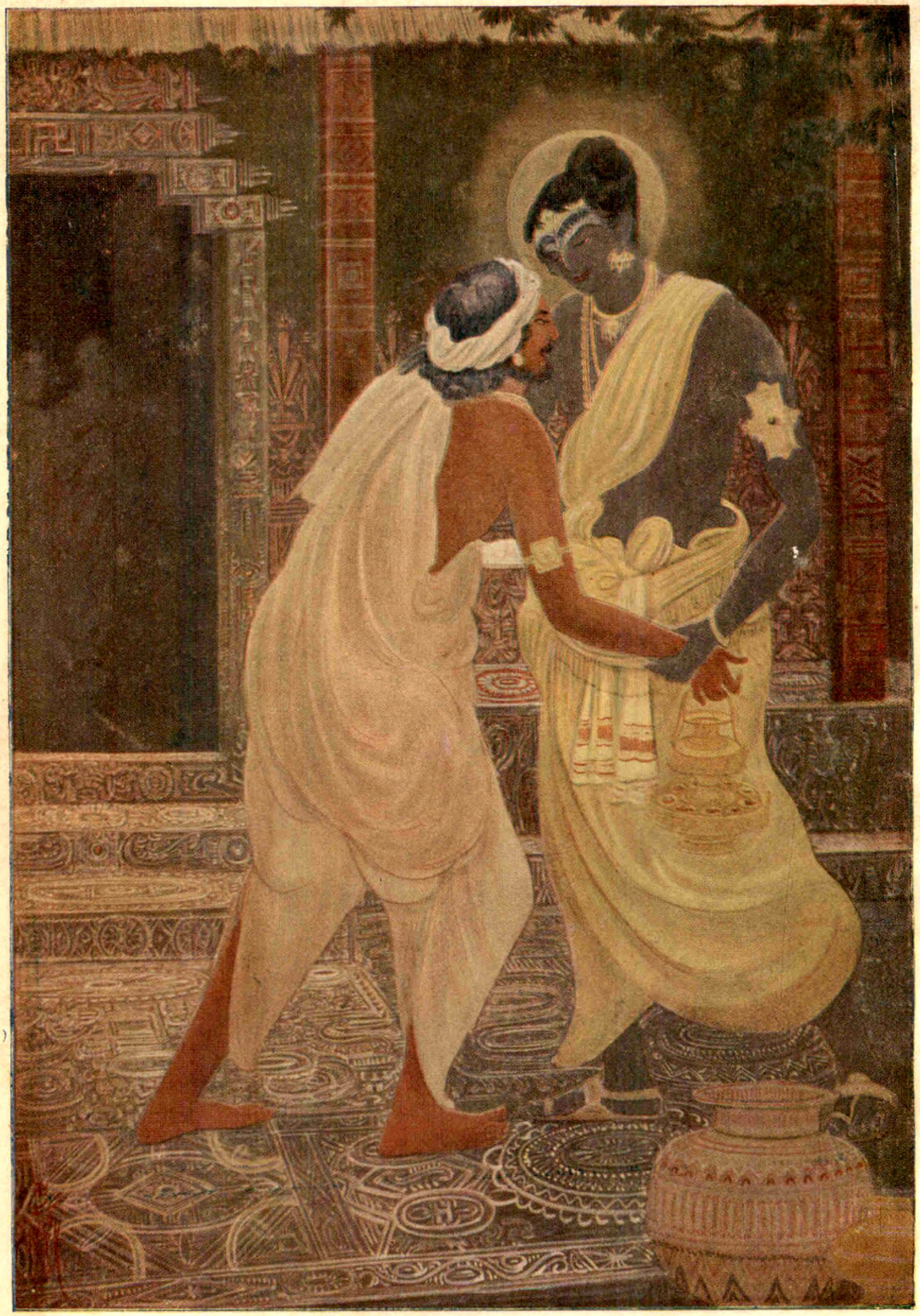

KRIṢHṆA AND VIDURA

Artist—Promode Kumar Chattopadhaya

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THE PRINCIPLES OF CRITICISM AS APPLIED TO POETRY

The word *criticise* means literally to take asunder the different parts of which a thing is made up. Hence it has come to mean distinguishing the different parts and qualities of a thing with a view to determine whether it is fit or not fit for the purpose for which it is intended.

Thus to criticise a new political measure means to distinguish all its contents and implications, and consider whether they are likely to produce the advantages to the public which have been claimed for the measure. To criticise a new work in science or philosophy means to distinguish the various principles laid down, or results arrived at, and consider whether they follow logically from the premises, and are consistent with truth already established, and whether they contribute anything new to the advancement of knowledge. To criticise a work on history is to show whether it presents to the mind clear pictures of the events of a period and the causes which led to them, and whether its details are based on sufficient evidence, and may be relied on as a contribution to our knowledge of the past. To criticise a work of fiction means to show whether the events described follow naturally from the circumstances assumed at the beginning, and whether the characters are true to life, and whether the whole is sufficiently new in substance and clear in statement to satisfy the reader, and form a genuine contribution to our understanding of life and character.

We propose here to deal with criticism of poetry. What is the meaning and use of criticism as applied to poetry? But in dealing with poetry the word has been used in a rather vague and comprehensive way. Hence we have to consider

Different uses of the word criticism.

Thus we hear of the historical criticism of poetry which will mean studying the history of the poet's time, to find how his mind and words were affected by political and social events, as Masson has done in his *Life of Milton.*

We hear also of psychological criticism, which will consist in examining an author's works with a view to discover from them his intellectual and moral character—assuming that the nature of the poet is to be found embodied in his works. Thus many attempts have been made to discover from Shakespeare's works, his character and endowments as a man. It has become a fashion in recent times to think that men of genius have often a strain of insanity in their nature; hence the critic may ask whether there are any traces of this in the poetry of Byron or Shelley.

We have heard also of biological criticism. The critic may study the race and family, the country, climate and general environment of an author, trying to show that the character of his works is determined largely by race and physical environment—the theory applied by Taine to explain the characteristics of English literatures. This is opposed to the view of Carlyle, Wordsworth and many others, that genius comes directly from the spiritual ground of nature, and is not a product of physical and social development and environment.

We hear also of the comparative criticism of poetry. This will consist in comparing works of the same class, by different authors living in different times and countries, and pointing out the differences of thought, method and purpose characteristic of them, and illustrative of their times. Thus some have thought that the main interest of the great epic poets consists in the expression which they give to the spirit of their times. Hence many have compared Homer and Virgil as expressive of the minds of the Greek and Roman peoples in the times in which they lived. Also Milton and Dante, as expressive of the mind and circumstances of England and Italy in the 17th and 14th centuries. Thus the satirists of Rome, France and England might be compared and found to express the circumstances and characters of the people to whom they appealed. Many poems have been written, by different poets, on the *Nightingale*, the *Skylark*, the *Cuckoo*—it might be of interest to compare these lyrics, and distinguish the different characteristics of the authors, manifested in them.

These methods of study are all of much interest by themselves, and cast much light on authors and their works. But they are not criticism in the proper sense of the word. They do not help us to understand what is good or not good in the works treated, and the reason why, which is the proper work of criticism.

Meaning and use of criticism in the stricter sense of the word.

To criticise a composition is to distinguish and examine its parts and qualities in their relations to one another, and to the purpose for which it is intended. To criticise for poetry is to distinguish and examine the different constituents of a composition in their relations to one another with a view to determine whether it comes under the head of poetry (*i.e.*, fulfils the purpose which poetry is meant to fulfil), and what kind of poetry it is, and what degree of excellence belongs to it as poetry of its kind. And the use of criticism is to help the public to understand, appreciate and profit by what is good in poetry. (Such a definition, of course, takes for granted the fundamental condition of sound criticism, *viz.*, that the critic himself has a full understanding of the nature and purpose of poetry in all its forms, and is not swayed by any fads or prejudices.)

A vast amount of literature claiming to serve this purpose has appeared in modern times, but has not always justified its claim, and its shortcomings have sometimes brought critics and criticism into disrepute. Critics have been said to be would-be authors who have failed in their profession, and sought to cover their failure by assuming, as critics, an attitude of superiority over their more successful competitors, and disparaging their works. And their methods of criticism have often been objectionable—the spirit of party, and of political and social prejudice, have often turned their efforts in the wrong direction; and dogmatic assertions have too often taken the place of reasoned exposition. They have often been unable to appreciate anything new, and have thereby discouraged originality, and affected unfavourably the "intellectual atmosphere" of a period. In short, they have been accused of being the "parasites" of literature.

But this criticism of critics (though not without justification in some cases) may be carried too far. Without having the original creative power or the gift of poetic expression, the critic may have sufficient insight into the meaning and purpose of poetry, and into the truths of nature and life which supply the materials of poetry. And he may be more able than others to estimate the use which the poet has made of his materials, and may be able to guide the judgment of readers as to what is really good, and enable them to see for themselves the reason why.

M. Arnold has done more than any one in recent times to vindicate the honour and usefulness of criticism and its claim to be recognised as a legitimate branch of literature. Indeed he goes so far as to say that the great need of English literature in his time was "a critical effort" such as had been, he thought, "the main effort for many years of continental literature." He seems to think that the accumulated mass of literature in all departments has become so great that life is too short for ordinary people to grapple with it, and that competent persons are needed to select and point out to the public what is best. These gifted persons are the critics. "Criticism in the widest sense of the word is a disinterested effort (*i. e.* free from political, social and personal prejudices) to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world." By so doing it will turn thought in the right direction, and create a current of new and fresh ideas. These new ideas propagated by criticism (among other good effects) will supply new materials for good poetry. "A poet ought to know life and the world before dealing with them in poetry." Such criticism of the work of the past, he believes, will supply the knowledge needed for the future.

But Arnold, while dilating fully on the work and dignity of criticism, does not give us much light on the ultimate question, how the critic is to accomplish this great work, *i. e.*, how he is himself to know what is best in literature, and how he is to make it clear to other people. For this work, he must (as Coleridge had pointed out half a century before) have himself attained a thorough understanding of the nature and purpose of poetry (which many early critics wanted), and must have derived therefrom, at least in his own mind, the principles needed to guide the mind in its judgment of what is good in poetry.

Poetical criticism may therefore be described as "a disinterested effort" to discover and point out what is best in poetry. Or it may be further explained, as an effort to ascertain whether any composition is fit or not fit to fulfil in a lower or higher degree the purpose for which poetry is intended. But it is not enough to say to people dogmatically that this or that is good or not good. Criticism, to be genuine, must make it clear on what reasons its judgments are based, and thereby help the reader to understand and judge and appreciate for himself, what is good in poetry.

The critic therefore must be expected to have an adequate conception of the nature and purpose of poetry, and be able to judge from the nature of poetry itself, what is good or not good in particular poems. It is of interest therefore to consider the different ways in which critics have actually judged poetry in the past.

Different ways in which poetry has been criticised.

(*a*) *The dogmatic way.*—One way has been to judge according to certain rules already accepted and regarded as indispensable to good poetry. Such rules have usually had reference to the structure of poems, or ways in which the different parts have been connected together so as to constitute a single whole. Thus Aristotle, judging from what had been most successful in Greek drama, drew up certain rules which he considered necessary to give the different parts of a drama or of an epic, the unity of a single whole. Such rules were long accepted as standards of criticism, and formed the main distinguishing characteristics of the classical school of poetry. Thus Addison in judging Milton's *Paradise Lost* thought that, as a critic, he was bound to consider its conformity to the principles of Aristotle, and even in judging the old English ballad of *Chevy Chase*, he thought it best to compare it with the manner in which combats were described in Greek and Roman poets, and close to the middle of last century the tragic drama of France and Italy was still regulated by the rules (or rather suggestions) of Aristotle. But this led to an excessive imitation of models and to a mechanical repetition of the same forms, and restricted freedom and excluded originality from poetry; and thus gave rise to the romantic revolt.

(*b*) Another way of judging poetry is what may be called *the impressionist way*. A reader may, without any thinking of his own, feel the impression, agreeable or disagreeable, which a poem makes on his mind—the colours, sensation, feelings and ideas which it raises and makes to pass before his inward eye,—and may enjoy the pleasure which they give, or feel the dislike which they may occasion; but may make no attempt to determine the reason why the one poem gives him pleasure and the other does not. If the poem gives him pleasurable feelings and thereby excites his interest, he is satisfied and pronounces the poem good; if it gives no pleasure he pronounces it bad or worthless, and sets it aside, and thinks no more about it.

Thus one may luxuriate *passively* in the colour, variety, wonder and mystery, of the *Fairy Queen* and *Earthly Paradise*, or the humour and truth to life of the *Canterbery Tales*, or turn away with indifference from Gower or Lydgate or from *Sordello* or *Prince Hohenstiel Schwangan* or *Proverbial Philosophy*, without thinking of any reason for his pleasure or his dislike—it is enough that one gives him pleasure and the other does not.

This is no doubt the commonest way of judging poetry. We may know nothing about the rules of Aristotle or any other critic, and may never have thought on the nature of poetry or what poetry should be, but we feel that it gives us pleasure and are content to enjoy what it gives without asking any question about it.

It is here that personal *taste* comes in. When a poem gives us a feeling of pleasure or dislike, and we have no other reason for its so doing, we say that such is our taste. The taste of a particular fruit affects us pleasurably and that of another does not, we do not know the reason why. A physiologist could tell us the reason; the fruit contains certain chemical substances which affect our gustatory papilli in certain ways; but we care nothing for that. So in poetry. From this it would follow that, as we cannot find fault with a person for liking or disliking a particular fruit, so we cannot find fault with one for liking or disliking a particular poem. There is no use of arguing about tastes. One is just as good as another (*de gustibus non est disputandum*).

Is there then no standard of taste in poetry, any more than in physical tastes? Indeed we hear very often of *good* taste and *bad* taste, in relation to poetry and the other arts. This would imply that some uniformity is attainable even in taste for poetry.

Yet poetical taste is not determined by physical organs, as taste for foods and drinks are. It consists in a mental disposition which may be partly innate, but depends largely on experiences, associations and habits of early life. Its origin has been studied most fully by Alison in his *Essay on the Nature and Principles of Taste.* Many psychologists have held with him, that the partial uniformity of taste which can be accounted for by association with agreeable and disagreeable things in early experiences, is the only possible standard of æsthetic judgment. But such a standard can be only impressionist at best, and no general or permanent uniformity of judgment can be attained by it. Further, we want a standard which will help us to see reasons for our judgments, —over and above the impressions which things make on us passively.

Yet there is such a thing as good taste in poetry though it may not be absolutely uniform, and good work has been done by critics essentially impressionist. Of these none has given better guidance to readers of poetry than Hazlitt in his *Lectures on the Poets.* He gives us no theory of what poetry should be, nor explanation why one thing is good and another is not, but his natural taste is almost unerring—especially in dealing with the descriptive part of poetry and with metaphors and similes—the side of poetry which he seems to appreciate most (like Jeffrey and other followers of Alison).

(c) Another way of judging poetry (though closely allied to the preceding being essentially impressionist with any element of dogmatism) is judging by *examples* or specimens. The critic may set before us certain examples, and may tell us that whatever resembles one example or set of examples is good poetry, and that what resembles the other set is not good, without giving any other reason, and we are expected to judge poetry in general by our recollection of these specimens.

This method is followed largely by Matthew Arnold. Though Arnold writes so much about criticism, his own criticism does not go much beyond such general recommendations as the "application of ideas to life," "sweetness and light," moderation and truthfulness in statement, and especially "high seriousness" and "the grand style," giving us specimens of these qualities, especially from Wordsworth and Keats. If ever he commits himself to definitions, as when he tells us that "poetry is the criticism of life" or "the application of ideas to life," they are too general to help us much.

For the main function of the critic is to show the reader how to lay hold of the fundamental idea of a poem, and how to make the poem develop itself in his own mind as in the mind of the poet. It is only then, that he fully comprehends and profits by it. Comparison with specimens will give but little help.

An example of criticising by specimens is afforded by the ancient critic Longinus (prime minister to Zenobia, queen of Palmyra). He wrote a treatise *on the Sublime* (or the *elevated*) in literature. By this he did not mean dealing with lofty subjects, but power, force, intensity of expression—the power of expressing the deepest thought and strongest passion in few words so as to give the reader an overpowering conception of the thing. He proceeds by quoting examples of this power from Greek poets, and often, to show his meaning, restates the sense of the passage in language of his own nearly as impressive as the original.

Of English poetry it may be doubted whether any one (apart from Shakespeare) has attained the intensity of expression admired by Longinus more successfully than Robert Burns in many of his shorter poems. But Burns in his strongest poems is always more or less humorous, satirical, or sarcastic; which excludes them altogether from the sublime of Longinus (who, like other classics, would insist on the "high seriousness" of all high art). Browning also exhibits the power in many poems and passages, but obscurity and prolixity often impairs the effect of his best work. This force of expression seems to have been much aimed at by some recent poets such as Meredith and F. Thompson, but their straining after force by exaggerations and by extravagant metaphor, is too obvious to be really impressive.

Another way of criticising from example consists in citing the ways in which different poets have treated the same or similar subjects, and considering the points of difference, to determine which is best. A good example of this method is to be found in the now perhaps forgotten letters on translating Homer by Prof. John Wilson. Wilson quotes translations of the same passages by the four translators known in his time (Chapman, Pope, Cowper and Sotheby) and compares them clause by clause, and in so doing gives reasons for his preferences, and thereby improves on the merely impressionist method. (*Cf.* Arnold on *Translating Homer.*)

These ways of judging poetry are all, no doubt, instructive when tastefully applied (as by Hazlitt), but they come short of the main purpose and justification of criticism. The true function of the critic is not to say to people dogmatically that this is good or that is bad; nor merely to tell them that this gives himself pleasure, and that does not (his judgment depending on the vagaries of taste). No one of these methods helps much towards a real appreciation and enjoyment of poetry. His real function is to help people to see and feel for themselves what is good and not good, and thereby to appreciate and profit by it themselves. Before the critic can do this, he has to form for himself an adequate conception of what poetry is or should be—in other words, to see what the meaning and purpose of poetry is—so as to be able to derive from that insight the principles needed for an intelligent judgment of what is good and not good in poetry.

Modern Criticism: First question, What is poetry?

The need for a systematic study of the art of criticism was made apparent especially in the first quarter of the 19th century. Certain poets had begun to write in a vein of thought and a style of diction different from that which had prevailed in the previous century. They were very severely handled by the critics of that time. The criticism was mainly of the dogmatic kind. The rules and forms essential to good poetry, and the subjects and lines of thought alone admissible, had been already determined for all time, the critics said; and any departure from them was to be reprobated as foolish presumption and subversive heresy. Coleridge especially protested against this kind of criticism. He called for a psychological inquiry into the nature of poetry, and for principles deduced therefrom which would guide readers to a just appreciation of what is good in poetry.

He himself began such an inquiry, but left it incomplete. Wordsworth and Shelley both contributed much in prefaces and notes. Afterwards Carlyle and Ruskin supplemented their work with many suggestions in the same line of thought, as did Pater and Bradley and others subsequently. The views arrived at by these enquirers seem to have been generally accepted. The main purpose of this article is to simplify, and condense their conclusions—following especially Coleridge and Wordsworth as the clearest (if not also the deepest) thinkers on the subject.

It is agreed, then, that the first condition of sound criticism is that the critic himself have a sound conception of the nature and purpose of poetry.

Must we, then, have a definition of poetry? That has always been felt to be impossible; poetry is so like the wind which bloweth where it listeth; it cannot be confined within the limits of a definition. Nevertheless, though not a definition, some comprehensive conception must be possible. All are now agreed that it is in the first place an *expression* of something, and that its excellence depends on the way in which that something is expressed. The question therefore is: what is that something which it is the purpose of poetry to express and the expression of which is poetry?

Here we may begin with the description of Wordsworth "Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of *powerful* feelings recollected in tranquillity." This makes feeling to be the dynamic, or moving force of poetry—the force which makes the poet write. But feeling by itself is nothing—to be something real, it must be the feeling of some experience whether present, remembered, or anticipated. That is, feeling rises out of knowledge, and cannot be preserved nor conveyed to other minds without conveying the knowledge—the ideas of actual or possible truths—out of which it rises.

Thus poetry is founded on knowledge and truth actual or possible,—out of things known in the poet's mind. The poet is more sensitive or excitable than other men, and things seen and recollected excite strong feelings in his mind, *e. g.*, anger, resentment, pity, admiration, gratitude, wonder, hope, etc.; and often this feeling is so strong that it will not allow the poet to rest until he has given it full expression first in his own mind, and has then communicated it to other minds, and impressed on them the same thought and feeling.

Therefore poetry is not "all in the air" or only idle play, out of all connection with the realities of life. It is not based on antiquated mythological superstitions, conceptions of things which must pass away and poetry along with them, as civilisation advances (as Peacock argued, and even Macaulay showed himself at one time inclined to think.) Such subjects may serve for Fancy or the poetry of mental play. Real poetry deals with the deepest truths of life and nature. So long as men think and feel about their own nature and destiny, the deepest and truest of their thoughts and feelings will be poetry. Poetry therefore is eternal as the heart of man. It has the same foundation as science, *viz.*, knowledge and truth, and the same purpose as the literature of science, *viz.*, the communication of truth and the feelings which rise naturally out of truth known. "It is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge, it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science, it is the first and the last of all knowledge." So far as poetry is concerned, therefore, the maxim of the poet holds good: "Beauty is Truth; Truth, Beauty"—poetry is the revelation of one aspect of truth and it is in that aspeet that beauty lies.

But if poetry and science have the same purpose, *viz.*, the communication of truth, in what do they differ?

They differ in the kind of truth which they seek to know, express and convey; they differ in the way in which they obtain the knowledge which they convey; and they differ especially, in the ways in which they express and convey the knowledge and truth with which they are concerned, to other minds.

(*a*) As to the kind of knowledge which they seek to express and convey. Science takes all truth for its province, and seeks and values truth for its own sake, whether it can be seen to have any connection with human interests or not. Poetry limits itself to the sphere of human interests,—whatever affects directly or indirectly the destiny of human kind, is its province. What has no human interest has no interest for poetry.

To be sure much poetry concerns itself with external nature. But this is because humanity in this life is wholly immersed in and dependent on nature, and everything in nature has interest as affecting, reflecting, and illustrating in some way, the life of man. When descriptive poetry ceases to have any significance in relation to life, it comes to be more like natural history than poetry. Description of nature becomes poetical when, instead of being a mere enumeration of things, it makes its details suggestive of truths, feelings and thoughts bearing on the life and destiny of men. The Roman Lucretius wrote a lengthy metrical work *On the Nature of Things.* It might have been expected that this would be merely a dry summary of the natural science of his time. But he contrived to make almost every line suggestive of some feeling or thought bearing on the life and destiny of man as product of nature, and thereby made his work to be a great poem. Much of the descriptive poetry of the 18th century however was description and nothing more, which made Lessing write his *Laocoon* to depreciate descriptive poetry as mere enumeration of particulars without putting any meaning into them. The new poetry of the 19th century, made much use of natural description, but differed essentially in this, that it made everything in nature to be a lower form or reflection or illustration of something in life, and thereby gave meaning to everything, making its descriptions fill the mind with thought and feeling. Hence a poet of the new school could say :

> " To me the meanest flower that blows
> Can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

Lessing's criticism had been blind to this philosophy of life in nature—the supernatural in the natural.

(*b*) They differ still more in respect of their methods of obtaining the knowledge which they express. Science obtains its knowledge by observation and experiment, and inference from the premises thereby obtained. Its method therefore is inference, and its *organon* is logic. The poet on the contrary, does not experiment nor draw inferences; he *sees* and *feels* the truth which he expresses, and he expresses it in such a way as to make his reader also see and feel it. He is a *seer*, and his method is insight, intuition, vision. His gift is "the vision and the faculty divine" which consists in seeing deeper into the truths of nature and life than other men. Indeed Coleridge and Shelley would have us believe that in genius (poetic and other) the creative power itself of nature, enters into the finite mind and reproduces there, in terms of thought, its own work in the world of nature—making the life of the macrocosmus live over again in the microcosmus of finite mind—and that genius consists in glimpses of the passing vision (as Faust glimpsed the secrets of life in his vision of the creative spirit, and as Plotinus, Boehme and others, saw them open up before them in occasional flashes of insight. This may be mysticism, but nevertheless it is true that poetry cannot be produced artificially by any dexterous manipulation of materials accumulated from without, but must come (as Shelley maintained) by an intuition or vision which opens up spontaneously from within the mind itself.

(*c*) The difference between poetry and science becomes most prominent, however, when the ways are considered in which they give expression to truth and convey it to other minds. Science expresses truth as far as possible in abstract ideas and general propositions, and the greater the degree of generality it attains, the more scientific it becomes, and truth is of the most scientific kind when it can be expressed in mathematical formulæ, which are the highest degree of abstraction possible.

Poetry tends in the opposite direction, and seeks to express truth in the most concrete and pictorial form possible—in the form of images or pictures in which the meaning can be *seen* by the mind's eye, as we "read the mind's construction in the face"—and therefore intuitively and without the reasoning and inference peculiar to science. Its peculiar *organon*, therefore is Imagination, or the power of embodying truth in concrete imagery—in descriptions, metaphors, similes and other symbolical figures—as opposed to the generalisations and abstractions in which scientific truth is expressed. Poetical expression is opposed on one side to a kind of composition which is a mere enumeration of particulars (as prose generally is) and on the other side, to that kind in which particulars are lost altogether in generalities and abstractions (science).

Thus prose proceeds mainly by enumeration of particulars, adding detail to detail; and its excellence (of style) consists mainly in selecting and arranging details in their order of natural connection, thereby drawing on the mind easily from one detail to another, and at the same time enabling it to grasp all the details together as a whole or series. The poet rises above mere enumeration of details. He sees deep into things, and sees what is fundamental and genetic in them, and expresses it in such a way as to make the needful details rise of themselves in idea without verbal expression, and fill the mind with spontaneous thought and feeling. Thus the effect of a poem depends not so much on what it says as on what it suggests. The highest poetry can make many things and events rise before the mind's eye by means of a single image or group of images. Thus the often quoted lines of Marlowe: "Is this the face that launched a thousand ships, and burnt the topless towers of Ilium"—present the whole ten years' struggle, to the mind's eye, and rouse a deeper feeling than any mere enumeration of events. Shakespeare's "The dark backward and abysm of time" expresses the infinite depth of past time in a few words more effectively than many words could express it.

Hence it may be said that in the highest poetry only a small part of the pictures presented to the reader's mind are painted by the poet himself. What is most mysterious in the poetic gift—" the faculty divine "—is the power which the greatest poets have, of making the images which they themselves paint, raise in other minds vistas of mental vision and trains of thought far beyond what the poet has himself put into words. Shakespeare possesses this power of *suggestion* beyond all other poets (to such a degree indeed as to make him out and away, the greatest of all poets). Wordsworth also has the power in a remarkable degree. But he does not command the same profusion of ideas, so that it is only now and then that he rises to the highest level of poetic achievement.

Thus Shakespeare's simple lines—

" Lamentings heard i' the air, strange screams of death,
And prophesying with accents terrible,
Of dire combustion and confused events
New hatch'd to the woeful time; the obscure bird
Clamour'd the life-long night; some say the earth
Was feverish and did shake."—

fill the mind with feelings of mystery and horror far beyond what is directly expressed in the words used. And Wordsworth abounds in lines which fill the mind with far-reaching thought like these—

" He springs the hushed volcano's mine,
He puts the earthquake on its dark design—
The fierce tornado sleeps within his courts."

and frequently, lines which suggest trains of pleasing fancies such as—

" The lady of the mere
Sole sitting by the shores of old romance."

Now if poetry is a way of expressing a certain kind of truth, as explained above, we can from this, answer the often asked question, what is the use or purpose of poetry. A common answer is that the purpose of poetry is merely to produce pleasure. But this is a very superficial answer. There is indeed a kind of poetry that aims at a certain kind of pleasure—poetry which aims mainly at affording relaxation to a weary mind by making to rise and pass before it, a train of images which are refreshing by their novelty, variety and beauty, and that without any straining of the mind itself—which is the poetry of Fancy or mental play. It is for a kind of pleasure mainly that one reads *Endymion*, or the *Earthly Paradise* ("the idle singer of an empty day") and perhaps even the *Faery Queene*. But one soon tires of poetry which has no substance in it, *i.e.*, embodies and reveals no truth. Hence from poetry of Fancy Coleridge distinguishes poetry of Imagination, which consists in expressing thought and feeling in concrete imagery. This is the highest kind of poetry. Its purpose is not to produce a pleasurable relaxation but to express, and to impress on other minds, the thought of the poet. Some feeling has taken a strong hold on the poet's mind. He cannot rest until he has given it full expansion and expression. When he has succeeded, he has a feeling of satisfaction, but this feeling is much more than pleasure in the ordinary sense. On the other side, the reader has the satisfaction of being enlightened and made to see and feel what he never saw and felt before. But this also is much more than pleasure in any ordinary sense. Thus the pleasure which the highest poetry gives, is the pleasure of seeing what was never seen before.*

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* Sir John Davies in his poem on the Soul has stated the nature of poetry thus:

> " Thus does she (the soul) when from individual states
> She doth abstract the universal kinds,
> Which then, re-clothed in divers names and fates,
> *Steal access through the senses to our minds.*"

This means that the soul discerns deep truths of nature and life first, in the abstract form, and then embodies them in concrete imagery, in which they can be seen directly by the eye of the mind.

Modern Criticism: Second question, How poetry should be criticised.

From this conception of the nature and purpose of poetry we can see how poems are composed, and what the function of the critic is. In the first place we can see that a poem rises and forms itself in the poet's mind somewhat as follews:—

A poem has its beginning in some fact or truth which the poet sees or recalls, and which lays hold of his mind in idea, appropriating to itself all his thinking power, and exciting some strong emotion—be it anger, indignation, pity, gratitude, wonder, fear, hope, regret, sorrow, or the like. The poet is one who both feels and thinks more deeply than other men ; and the idea is at first not adequate to give full embodiment to his feeling; and this keeps him thinking until the fundamental idea develops itself into a system of connected ideas, each with its own shade of feeling; and these reinforce one another, and grow together into one whole of thought and feeling in which the original thought finds full expression. But thought and feeling by themselves are but "airy nothing"; the thinking power, as it evolves its ideas, puts them into words; and words give consistency and permanence to ideas and feelings; and thus an organic whole of thought, feeling and language gradually takes form in the poet's mind, of which the fundamental truth (idea) is the soul which evolves and holds them all together in one living whole.

Thus a true poem is not made but grows from a germ within the mind, as the plant grows in the soil. It is not art, but inspiration; it cannot be produced by any labour of the will. A person may have read many books, and remember their contents accurately and may bring together materials from the fields of memory and join them together dexterously, but a poem thus made artificially will be like the artificial rose made of paper and paste—it will have no life.

Now with an adequate conception of the meaning and purpose of poetry in general before his mind, the critic will be able to judge as to what is good or not good in particular poems. And from the above conception of a poem we can see what questions will have to be considered in criticising a poem.

According to Goethe and Carlyle "the first and foremost duty of the critic is to make clear to himself what the poet's aim really and truly was; how the task he had to do stood before the poet's eyes; and how far, with such materials, he has fulfilled it." When criticism first asked: What thought has the poet intended to express, and how far has he suceeded in expressing it, the way was opened to the only reasonable and useful form of criticism.

The purpose of the poet might be a small and simple one fulfilled in a few lines, or might be a comprehensive and complex one involving many branches. Thus the mind of Virgil was filled with a conviction of the function and duty entrusted by heaven to Rome, as saviour and arbiter of nations; Dante had a deep belief in the justice of Providence as manifested, if not in this, then at least in a future life; Milton was convinced that it was possible "to justify the ways of God to man." These subjects were of vast extent. But Virgil, Dante and Milton felt that they could impress these truths on other minds in narratives which would be at least symbolically true. Wordsworth's vision of the *Daffodils* was but a trivial experience in itself, but it filled his mind with a feeling of the correspondence between human life and the life of nature. The words of the child in *We are Seven* confirmed his belief that the soul in early life preserves an intuition of its own inherent vitality, and therefore of the unreality of death, an idea worked out more fully afterwards in his *Ode on Childhood*: these feelings impelled him to give them formal expression and communicate them to other minds.

In judging the purpose of a poem the critic will have to bear in mind the essential distinction between the poetry of the Fancy and that of Imagination and will not denounce a work like *Endymion* for wanting logical construction and deep lessons of worldly wisdom, nor a classical tragedy like *Samson Agonistes* for wanting flowers of fancy and rhetoric. He will not criticise *Prometheus* or the *Witch of Atlass* or the *Dunciad* on the same principles as the *Essay on Man* or *In Memoriam.*

II. Having considered the poet's purpose, dramatic, epic or lyric—Fancy or Imagination—the critic will have to consider the means which the poet has used to accomplish his purpose. The following are some of the questions which will occur to him.

1. He will consider whether the poem is a work of art or of genius. The place of art in poetry has been a subject of much discussion. Much depends on the meaning assigned to the word art. Real art means something more than merely to collect materials from different quarters, and piece them together in an intellectual mosaic after a pattern ; though this method has been followed sometimes in poetry. It may mean evolving from within the mind itself many possible ways of giving expression to the fundamental idea, and distinguishing the best. But in this sense it does not differ essentially from inspiration unless it be that it takes longer time than when the right form of expression comes immediately. Even if Tennyson needed more time and reflection than Shelley to find the right words, it does not follow that his work was artificial merely. His ideas came mostly from within his own mind and he selected the best and gave them order, and in this there was both genius and art.

The place of art in poetry formed a main subject of dispute between the classical and romantic schools of poetry. The classics attached the utmost importance to art, as necessary to give symmetry of parts, relevance and moderation ("sweet reasonableness") in language, to the exclusion of unnecessary verbiage and ornament—but with some consequent tendency to imitation and monotony. The romantics accused them of being artificial and second-hand in everything, and appealed to spontaneity and inspiration, but often fell into prolixity, verbiage and rhetoric.

2. He will consider how far it is original and how far imitated. The question of imitation has also been debated. Can a poet ever be justified in using ideas and images which have been used by others before him? It may be said that if he make a new or a better use of it than his predecessor he has a right to it. A French poet, when accused of plagiarism, said that he had a right to take back his own property wherever he found it,—meaning that he needed these things more, and could make a better use of them, than his predecessor.

3. With regard to the parts into which the poet has expanded and developed his fundamental idea and purpose. Do all the subordinate parts rise naturally out of the subject and do they all harmonize with each other in such a way as to form, with the fundamental idea, one organic whole, in which the original purpose is fully realised. This is the problem of *unity* to which Aristotle and the classical school attached special importance but which is a fundamental condition of all art.

Thus in the case of a drama, the critic will consider whether the successive scenes rise naturally out of the subject and circumstances, and are so correlated together as to form one whole of action in which the fundamental intention is worked out; and whether the actions of the different persons rise naturally out of the circumstances and characters ascribed to them. He will object to all scenes and persons, which, even though they should be good in themselves, contribute little or nothing to the plan of the whole. He will consider also the use made by the poet, of epic elements in the form of description and narrative, of lyric elements of song and chorus, and of rhetorical declamation. He will consider also the use made in tragedy, of comical characters and dialogues (excluded by the classical school).

4. The critic will consider also the language in which the poet has sought to express his thought, and its fitness for the poet's purpose.

Is it mainly English of native origin, or largely classical (Latin or French)? Is it terse and condensed, or is it prolix, giving more words than needed for the purpose? If the poet speaks in character—monologue or dialogue—the critic will expect that the language is in keeping with the character and circumstances of the speaker. If the poet speak in his own person, what kind of language should he use? Wordsworth and others hold that the language of poetry should be (with due refinement) essentially the same as that which could be used in prose (on the principle that the deepest thought is best felt when expressed in the simplest language, and that the difference between poetry and prose lies not in the language used but in the thought and feeling expressed). Others have assumed that there should be a special kind of language, invented and reserved for the use of poets—consisting largely of words and phrases which could not be used in prose—an artificial "poetic diction." Different kinds of poetic diction have been used at different times,—*e.g.* that of the 18th century against which the *Lyrical Ballads* was a reaction. The use of such artificial diction and its encouragement by critics, has sometimes led, as Wordsworth complained, to the illusion that poetry differs from prose mainly or wholly in the words and phrases used, and not in thought and feeling.

5. Hence the critic may have to consider also the relation of the poet's style to the various fashions of phraseology and style (poetic diction) which have prevailed at various periods, *e.g.*, the euphuistic and 'metaphysical' styles with their 'conceits'; the epigrammatic and antithetical style; the periphrastic style, the "homely" and "familiar" style: the extravagantly metaphorical style; straightforwardness and affectation of style.

6. The poem may be largely descriptive or narrative. Description will always be important in poetry, because it is the nature of poetry to express thought as far as possible in concrete pictures (imagination). The critic therefore will consider the poet's power of description. Is his description simply an enumeration of details, like a catalogue of things for show (Lessing's charge against the descriptive poetry of 18th century)? Or, are the several details so related as to form together one pictorial whole? Or, has the poet the power of painting (by suggestion) a whole picture with only a few descriptive touches? Are his descriptions presented wholly for their own sake, or are they such as to express or suggest some meaning (thought or feeling) bearing on human life (as in the descriptive work of the 19th century poets)? And are they all subservient to the fundamental purpose of the poem at a whole? Much the same tests will be applied to narrative and lyric poetry.

7. As poetry consists so largely in power of expressing thought in a pictorial form by power of imagination (image-making), similes and metaphors will enter largely into poetry. Hence the critic will have to consider the poet's similes and metaphors, each of which should be a mental picture expressing thought.

(*i*) As to his similes: the poet may *simply* state the fact that his subject is like such and such another thing. Or the other thing to which he compares his subject, may be described so fully as to be a complete picture by itself, containing many more details than those which enter into the actual likeness—the simile being thus expanded into a little poem, capable of being considered by itself. This was the practice of Homer, especially in the *Iliad*, and the example was followed by Virgil and Milton and by many others (*e.g.*, the simile of the bees repeated from Homer in different ways by both Shakespeare and Milton).

(*ii*) The critic will consider also the poet's metaphors (in which the similitude is absorbed into the text), which are to many poets the favourite form of expression. Thus the later plays of Shakespeare and the poems of Shelley are tissues of metaphors.[1] (Indeed some critics, such as Jeffrey and Hazlitt, seem to have thought of poetry as consisting mainly of metaphor.)

The danger in the use of metaphor will lie in the intermixture of different comparisons, and confusion of the subject illustrated with the thing used to illustrate it (*cf.* the poetry of Meredith). The critic will have to consider whether the metaphors are original, and whether they really express thought and feeling and are not mere 'purple patches' stuck in for decoration, and whether they serve to deepen the fundamental thought and feeling of the whole.

8. The critic will have to consider also the use made of Wit and Humour in the poem, and their bearing on its main purpose—humorous speeches and dialogues, satirical descriptions as in Dryden, epigrams, antitheses, contrasts and sarcasms as in Pope, mock-heroic and burlesque as in *Hudibras* and the *Dunciad*, and the fusion of satire and burlesque with poetic description and pathos (raising satire into poetry) as in Burns and Byron.

9. The critic will consider also the harmony of the language and of the versification. "He cannot be a poet who has no music in his soul." His harmony will consist in the rhythm or flow of the words, and in the comparative proportions of the clauses, lines, and verses. This is a subject which requires separate analysis and illustration.

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[1] The following example may be cited from Shelley :—

"O thou,
Who chariotest to their cold wintry bed
The winged seeds where they lie cold and low,
Each like a corpse within a grave, until
Thine azure sister of the spring shall blow
Her clarion o'er the dreaming earth, and fill
(Driving sweet buds like flocks to feed in air)
With living hues and odours plain and hill."

4

10. The critic will sometimes have to apply the distinction between poetry and rhetoric. Poetry includes everything essential to the concrete expression of thought and feeling. Rhetoric will include all adjuncts which may be ornamental and pleasing in themselves, but add little or nothing to the meaning—the thought and feeling—of the poem. It will include "flowery language," metaphor beyond what is needed, descriptive details which add nothing to the thought. It belongs to the sphere of Fancy or mental play, as distinguished from that of Imagination or pictorial expression of thought. It is pardonable when it gives genuine pictures of things (even when not necessary). It is objectionable when it produces illusion merely, *i.e.*, gives an appearance of thought and substance to what is only verbiage. (Thus, to speak of prose, the speeches of Cicero have sometimes been compared unfavourably with those of Demosthenes, as often degenerating into useless rhetoric, as also those of Burke.) Such rhetoric was condemned altogether by Aristotle and classical critics, but regarded more tolerantly by romanticists, *e.g.*, De Quincey. The danger is that it hides under a mass of words, the main purpose of a poem, or even substitutes altogether declamation for poetry.

11. Finally, the critic will consider above all the effect of the poem as a whole. Is the thought of which it is the expression something new? Does it give even a little glimpse into reality, revealing something which no one else has seen before or thinking what no one else has thought before? If so, it is a good poem. Does it do anything to enlighten, encourage, stimulate, elevate mankind, casting new light on any of the mysteries of life? If so, it is a great poem. This was the point of criticism most insisted on by Thomas Carlyle.

It follows from the above sketch of the function of criticism that, though the critic has no right to set himself up as a dictator in the realm of poetry (as Jeffrey was accused of doing—" self-constituted judge of poesy ") his function is an important one; and that the endowment required to make a really great critic is a gift of a high order. He cannot rank with the original creator of the work criticised, but to be a really good critic he has to be a *re*-creator. He has to begin where the poet began, *viz.*, with the original fact of experience or memory which excited the creative impulse or feeling in the poet's mind, and he has to feel that force working in his own mind as it did in the poet's mind, and evolving into the same system of contributary ideas and feelings, arriving at that whole of thought and language which is the poem. He will then be able to judge the poet's work from the inside, having done it over again himself. Hence the critic of poetry has to be himself something of a poet (though only in a secondary sense).

But many critics have not confined themselves to criticism in the strict sense, but have added extensive commentary and reflexions of their own, so that criticism, though not great literature by itself, has supplied occasion for much literature of high worth, *e.g.*, Carlyle, Macaulay, Lowell, Swinburne, Hutton, Dowden, Hazlitt, Morley, and others.

But the main purpose of the critic, as such, is to enable other people to understand and appreciate poetry. This means that he must help the reader also, to follow the growth of the poem in his own mind as the critic himself does. In so doing the reader will feel something of the same pleasure of creation which the poet felt, and will be able to enjoy whatever insight into the heart of things the poet has been able to obtain and express. "The vision splendid" will pass before his mind's eye, less brightly than before the poet's own, but still intelligible.

HENRY STEPHEN

THE ENGLISH PROCURATOR AT SHIVAJI'S COURT

In a Portuguese letter addressed by the Secretary of State to Naraena Sinay, the Portuguese envoy at the Peshwa's Court, Bahiropant Mehendale, a distinguished nobleman of the Maratha empire and one who enjoyed not a little influence with the Peshwa, is described as "procurador" (Attorney or Agent) of the Government of Goa. His connection with a foreign government was not only well known but was publicly recognised by the officers of the Maratha State, as is clearly proved by a letter addressed by Gangadhar Panta, Subedar of Gheria to the Governor of Goa (Biker, Vol. IX, pp. 176-177). This comes as a surprise to a student of History to-day for although it is not unusual in our own time for a subject of one State to hold Consular office for another State, it is unthinkable that a member of one government should constitute himself the special guardian of the interest of another power in his own country. This practice, however, was older than the Peshwa days and prevailed even during the reign of the great Shivaji.

The English East India Company's officers at Bombay sent no less than four ambassadors to Shivaji at different times. Their first envoy or ambassador was Lt. Ustick whose journal is mentioned in a letter written to Surat from Bombay. The Journal of Mr. Nicholls has been preserved among the manuscript records now in the India Office. We have but meagre notice in the Factory of Records of the embassy of Samuel Austen, the last of the four; but the third ambassador Mr. Henry Oxinden was in a sense the most fortunate of them all. He was present at Shivaji's Coronation at Rairi, and as the Surgeon in the Company's employ at that time was a man of literary taste, Mr. Henry Oxinden's account of his journey to Rairi and his activities there was given to the public as early as 1698. Dr. Fryer reproduced Oxinden's Narrative almost word for word. The only change he thought necessary to make was to convert the first person in which the ambassador wrote into the third. But the Marathi names must have puzzled Fryer a good deal, and his spelling of Marathi personal names was mostly wrong. In the Instructions drawn up for Oxinden occurs the following:

> "Among Sevagees chiefest ministers of State you must particularly apply yourselfe to Naragy Punditt who hath expressed extraordinary kindness and affection to the Company's interest and therefo(re) you are to communicate unto him all our Desires and proposalls, before they be presented to Sevagee, that you may take his advise and approbation, therein, desiring him to interceed and mediate with Sevagee Rajah for the speady conclution thereof." (O. C., Vol. 35, No. 3963.)

Henry Oxinden calls this minister our procurator and gives a fairly detailed account of his interview with the Brahman (O. C., Vol. 35, No. 3965), Fryer calls him Narranji instead of Naragy and this alteration in the name, slight as it is, has so long stood in the way of a correct identification of this procurator of the English at Shivaji's Court. Dr. Crooke who edited Dr. Fryer's account for the Hakluyt Society, did not think it necessary to compare the published narrative with the manuscript in the India Office and confused the Procurator with Naran Sinay, Mr. Oxinden's interpreter. Mr. Sardesai in his Marathi Riyasat, Vol. I, accepted Fryer's reading as he had no access to the manuscript records. Prof. Sarkar in his Shivaji (First Edition, I do not know whether he has made any alteration in the Second Edition) calls him Naraji Punditt and Narayan Pandit. And recently the greater portion of Oxinden's interesting Narrative has been published by Mr. C. H. Payne in the concluding pages of his *Scenes and Characters from Indian History*. Mr. Payne examined the manuscript records but unfortunately did not preserve the original spelling of place and personal names.

He also calls the Procurator Naranji Pandit which was certainly not his name.

It should be noted that the Procurator was one of Shivaji's "chiefest ministers of state," *i.e.*, a member of the Ashta Pradhan Council and I have no doubt that Fryer's Naranji and Prof. Sarkar's Narayan Pundit was really Niraji Raoji, Shivaji's Nyayadhish. The name occurs thrice in the Instructions mentioned above. It is differently spelt as Naragy and Nerajee. Those who are familiar with the old records of those days know that the English scribes of the time were not very careful about their transliteration of Indian names. Shivaji's name was not infrequently written by them as Savage. In Henry Oxinden's Narrative the name has without any exception been always written as Neragy but my identification is based on stronger evidence than the uncertain spelling of the name though I have not the least doubt about the accuracy of my reading. Naragy or Neragy is mentioned also in a letter written by Naran Sinay but as the copy now available to us is only an English translation of the original letter written in Portuguese we do not know whether Naran Sinay's spelling has been faithfully preserved by his translator. The interpreter, however, gives a valuable clue as to the identity of the procurator in the opening para. of his letter to his master at Bombay (Factory Records, Surat, 88 Fols. 78-83). He writes:

> "I went to Banchar to visitt Naragy Punditt which place is at the mountaines ffoot, and enquireing for him I encountered with his eldest sonne Parlad Punditt who advised me that his father Naragy Punditt was at the mountaines head."

When Oxinden calls him Neragy and Narayan Shenvi informs us that his eldest son was Parlad Punditt (Pralhad Pandit), we may be reasonably sure that the personage referred to is no other than Shivaji's Nyayadhish, Niraji Raoji, father of Pralhad Niraji the celebrated Pratinidhi of Rajaram, and Shivaji's envoy at the Kutub Shahi Court. Both Prof.

Sarkar and Mr. Payne have referred to this letter but they seem to have overlooked this passage while modernising the spelling of Noragy or Neragy's name.

It may be noted in this connection that the English were anxious to please Niraji as will be evident from the following extract from the Instructions:

> "In the agreement made with Sevagees envoy Bimagee Punditt touching the satisfaction to be paide the Company for theire losse at Rajapore in regard Neragee Punditt whom we have recommended unto you did prove the only mediator to bring Sevagee to so fair and good accomodation, we thought good to promise him for his encouragement 500 Pagoths to be paid him out of the said money, thereby to oblige him the more to doe the Company further service in their traide hereafter and also we promised to Bimagee Punditt the envoy for his effectual service, therein 100 pagoths, wherefore in case they desire the said money you may confirme our promise; but endeavour to put off to the second or third payment, but if they earnestly press to have it made good out of the first you are not to deny them for it is necessary for us to keep them our friends."

It is needless to point out that the practice alluded to in the above extract will not be tolerated to-day in any civilised country.

SURENDRANATH SEN

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGES

In our schools at the present time the poor student is expected to show a fair knowledge of at least three languages, and, if he is a resident in a big city, he has often to have a speaking knowledge of a fourth. The three languages needed are (1) his mother tongue, (2) English, and (3) a "second language." Most of our bigger cities in India require a man to be bi-lingual; and as schools are often mixed schools boys have to pick up another vernacular as well but they do not "study" it. Three languages in addition to the other subjects does seem a heavy burden upon children and "guides," "hints," "annotations," "—made easy" and other books of that ilk flood our bookshops to the great profit of the compilers and the book-sellers, though to little or none to the poor student for whom these efforts have been intended.

To me, having been both a student and a teacher of languages, there appear some very glaring defects in the methods employed by the majority of our teachers in teaching them. Of course our "Training Colleges" do a good deal of excellent work and are producing some extremely good teachers. But still the majority of teachers, especially in mofussil schools, are content to follow along the old grooves of linguistic teaching.

It would be worth while examining the old indigenous method first. This was meant chiefly for Sanskrit. The child began to read Sanskrit when about six or seven, and during the first five or six years (until the age of about twelve) all the work done was memorising. After the age of twelve things began to be explained and gradually the student was taken through all the details of the subject, the intricacies increasing with the growing age and intellect of the boy, This was indeed a good method. The age from about seven to twelve is just the age when memorising is easiest and the child, as long as it has got the words before him, does not very much bother about the sense. Those who have learnt the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* or the *Amarakośa* at this age, will be able to testify that things learnt then are never forgotten. For this same reason we want the child to learn the "multiplication tables" at the same age. From the age of twelve onwards the child wants the whole thing reasoned out and systematised. Of course I do not mean to say that the child does not want to know the reasons for the things he learns before this age, but at that time a very little explanation is accepted, whereas after twelve the child is not so easily satisfied.

It would be quite evident that this ancient method worked very well for the teaching of Sanskrit, when it began at the age required by this scheme. Moreover the works for the use of beginners in almost every branch of Sanskrit learning were specially cast into forms such as could be easily memorised—*sūtras* or easy *anuṣṭup* verses. Obviously this method cannot be applied to English, nor to Sanskrit even, when the beginner is almost fourteen or so. And herein lies the fundamental mistake of our teachers;—they want far too much memorising and that at the wrong age.

Another thing is also lost sight of, *viz.*, that modern conditions are different; and consequently we have to find methods by which languages could be taught in the shortest possible time, while at the same time the pupil is learning half a dozen other subjects. And what is wanted of the average modern pupil is not that he should know the languages inside out, but that he should possess a practical knowledge of the languages, so that he may be able to read and write these with some ease and fluency, and, in the case of English and the Vernacular, that he may also speak them fairly correctly.

In most schools Grammar forms as it were the very foundation of all language teaching, and from the very start the student has to undergo tortures in order to follow the intricacies of grammar. No language in the world possesses a simple straightforward grammar, which can be compressed into a few rules. Artificial languages like Esperanto or Ido might achieve such consummations but a natural language can no more develop that way than the branches of a tree can shoot out at exactly right angles to the trunk. It is the very essence of "natural language"—the language spoken by many thousands of human beings—to be irregular in many directions. And what language teaching should aim at is to allow the pupil to get at *the spirit of the language.* This can never be done by loading the young brain with grammatical detail, which is worse than useless lumber, but by initiating him in the best literary productions in that language and leave his imitative faculty to achieve the rest. Of course this initiation into literature should be carefully graded. And after the pupil has caught the spirit of the language then and then alone does grammar come in, if at all. *Grammar comes the very last in the teaching of a language.* Because, only when the boy appreciates the language, does grammar become interesting and even fascinating. Otherwise it is a mere jumble of half-understood rules with exceptions innumerable. In fact this is the secret of the "direct" method of teaching languages. The child learns to speak the language from the beginning and hears it spoken and learns all the grammar intuitively.

We have learnt in our orthodox grammars about the three subdivisions of grammar—orthography, etymology and syntax. In teaching languages the last named should come first, the child should learn to speak, should know how to make sentences, for it is a fundamental principle in modern linguistic science that *the sentence is the unit of language.* The sentence is first learnt as the child learns to speak and then it is analysed into words and last of all come the sounds which compose the word. If we think for a moment we see that this is precisely the way in which we learn our mother-tongue and the mother-tongue is the language an average man knows best. Is there then any reason why the process, which we followed when we learnt the language we know best, should be reversed when we want to learn another language? And when we see in the schools our children struggling with English spelling from the very start, we can but marvel at this topsy-turvy method. Is there any wonder then that many of our children never get over the terrible English spelling?

But somehow or other, because English is being constantly used, our youngsters pick up a lot of the language in spite of these wrong methods. The impracticability of this method becomes quite apparent when it is applied to the "second language." It matters very little whether the language is "living" or "dead"; to the vast majority of our students the "second language" is "dead," completely dead as far as any illumination it can give to their soul is concerned. Take the teaching of Sanskrit for instance. To ninety-five per cent. of the students who learn Sanskrit, the language consists of a most terrible jumble of grammatical rules, of compounds which are like horrid dragons sprawling all over the page, of unmeaning lists of irregularities and a hundred such horrors besides. Only a few know it to be what it really is, a veritable *devabhāṣā*, a language which is unsurpassed in its structural beauty, in the subtlety of its expression and above all in the height and grandeur of its literature. How many of our teachers make their boys appreciate the beauties of Kālidāsa and of Bhababhūti? I well remember the holy terror Daṇḍin was to me in my college days; even Kālidāsa's most exquisite gem—*Meghadūta*—I had not even the courage to open until years after I had left college.

The "second language" to our students is chiefly a subject which has to be learnt in order to pass examinations. They never even think of it as a *language*, as a medium by means of which human beings like ourselves can express their emotions and feelings. To them it is always grammar and translation exercises done, not with a view of encouraging self-expression in the pupil, but merely to get through one of the cram-books which may be in use at the school or college. The old Pandit method has got one inestimable advantage; the student at any rate hears Sanskrit all the time and learns to speak Sanskrit.

Sanskrit (and in fact any other "dead" language) can be taught by the "direct" method, by teaching the pupil to use it from the very beginning. The boy learns to use it as an instrument to express his own thoughts and feelings and by practice gets confidence. Whereas with our "present" methods of language teaching (which were in use in Europe a century or so ago) *he never learns to use it himself.* The translation exercises have been arranged for him by another and very likely he uses a "crib" which makes matters worse. One may as well teach a boy to play cricket by taking him to see matches every day during the cricket season. What the boy wants is to *handle the language*, to get the feel of it himself and that can only be when he speaks it, when he uses it while talking to his friends or to his teacher. There are people who imagine that children thus learning to speak two or three languages simultaneously will get inextricably mixed up. But experience shows that this is never the case. Children learn to speak intuitively and spontaneously, just because they do not bother about grammar. It is we, elders, who have been brought up on grammatical rules that get tripped up because while speaking we think of rules we had learnt long ago and have half forgotten. Is there not a story about a most learned *Vaiyākaraṇa* whose profound knowledge of Sanskrit grammar effectively prevented him from speaking a single word of Sanskrit?

By all this I do not mean to say that grammar should not be taught. Grammar, and especially a grammar like that of Sanskrit, is a most valuable means of mental culture. I personally think its value in this respect to be not at all lower than that of mathematics or philosophy. But just as we would not dream of teaching Vector Analysis or Hegelian Philosophy in schools, so also we should reserve the intricacies of Pāṇinian grammar till the higher classes. Let us not forget that it is a *language* we are teaching, not a mere subject for an examination. Sanskrit, the divine language, even, has been killed by grammar and our educational authorities are doing their best to kill out even our love for Sanskrit by this insistence upon its grammar. Let every boy—at least every Hindu boy—in this land learn Sanskrit, *but let it be the language and the literature.* The grammar had best be made a subject for B. A. Honours and for one of the "groups" at the M.A. The average school-boy is so fed up with grammar that by the time he comes to the college he has a thorough dislike for the language and I surely would not blame a healthy-minded boy for doing so. It took me years to overcome my horror of Sanskrit grammar, and if I had not been obliged to teach it I do not think I would have opened a Sanskrit grammar of my own accord.

The revival of Sanskrit learning is absolutely necessary at the present juncture. To India, Sanskrit is the very embodiment of her past and the greater the number of Indians who know and love Sanskrit the stronger shall our national movement grow.

Now as to the teaching of Sanskrit grammar itself I might say a few words. Of course I take it for granted that a decent knowledge of the literature and the language has already been acquired. If this requirement is fulfilled, I think the old method of the Pandit (modifying, of course, the memorising part) is the best suited, because it has evolved out of the very spirit of the language itself. In short, a graded course of Pāṇini, preceded perhaps at a lower stage by Bopadeva, would be the best. But I must put in a word for a much neglected work—the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. This work deserves a prominent place in the higher examinations.

There is also a special group of students who study Vedic literature. It would be indeed a great day for our land if this branch were studied and understood (not merely learnt by heart) by many more people than now. Not being a Hindu, I do not desire to enter into a discussion about Brāhmaṇa sensibility regarding the teaching of the Vedas to others. But as a student of linguistics I cannot but feel that even for "classical" Sanskrit a study of the Vedas is useful, and as far as literary beauty and high thought is concerned the Vedas are in no way inferior. And they are the very fountain-head of Indian civilization and culture.

And as regards Vedic grammar I feel that if it could be so arranged that Vedic grammar be taught first, then many of the intricacies of "classical" Sanskrit grammar would disappear. To just give one instance; take the ten *la-kāras* (the tenses and moods) of Pāṇini. Even in Pāṇini they seem to be more or less independent of each other and this grouping seems to be quite haphazard and capricious. It is only when we understand the Vedic verbal system, we find that the ten *la-kāras* are but fragments of a well ordered system and then each of them falls into its proper place. Another incidental advantage is that we learn something about the history of the development of Sanskrit—a thing which no good grammarian should never lose sight of. How this suggestion is to be carried out, it is not possible for me to suggest. The Brāhmaṇa Pandit, as I hinted above, should have his say in this matter, for he is the chief guardian and teacher of the Vedic lore even to-day.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

RABINDRANATH AND BERGSON[1]

From the earliest times, philosophers have been divided into two camps—those who look upon *rest* and those who look upon *motion* as the key to the world-riddle. In India these two types of thinking were represented respectively by the Vedanta and Buddhism ; in ancient Greece, by the systems of Parmenides and Heraclitus. In all ages, these two types of thinking have succeeded each other in rhythmic order.

The modern age is a reaction against the rest-philosophy of the early nineteenth century. That reality consists in movement and not in rest—this is the key-note of contemporary philosophy. Absolute sameness is not the characteristic of reality. The symbol of the real is not the mountain at rest, but the ever-flowing, ever-gushing stream.

It is Bergson who has proclaimed this message of change more loudly than any other philosopher. Bergson considers it the greatest mistake of metaphysicians that they cling to lifeless, unchanging rest. All the difficulties of the rest-philosophers are due to this one mistake.

This mistake is also responsible for the isolated view of things which, in Bergson's opinion, is the bane of all metaphysics. The static philosophers look upon everything as detached from everything else. They look upon the conscious life as composed of a number of distinct states of consciousness, just as they view space as composed of a series of points. They forget that life means the conquest of this isolation, the freeing of reality from the artificial restraints to which it has been subjected.

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[1] Paper read at the University Club, Benares Hindu University, on the 14th February, 1926.

The present article is a comparison between Bergson and Rabindranath, made from the standpoint of the latter's book, *Balâkâ.* It is based upon an article which appeared in the " Bangavâni " for Baisakh, 1331, under the title," Balâkâ O Bergson."

I am indebted for the beautiful metrical rendering of the verses of Rabindranath which occur in this article to Mr. Kshitish Chandra Sen, I C.S., the author of the English translation of Rabindranath's work, entitled " The King of the Dark Chamber." Had it not been for his kindness, this article would never have seen the light of the day.

S. K. M.

The truth is, that the static philosophers do away with motion and reduce it to the position of rest. Motion in their hands becomes nothing but a translation from one point of rest to another. True motion, however, is very different from this. It is one undivided whole. No points or moments exist for it. When I move my hand, the motion is one indivisible whole. It cannot be partitioned off into a series of motions, A_1 A_2, A_3, etc., as mathematicians want to do. To do this is to spatialise motion, to reduce time to a form of space.

All static metaphysics is in fact a reduction of time to space. Pure time as flow is the real. The metaphysician and the mathematician, however, represent it by spatial symbols. This may help them in the investigation of their particular problems, but it certainly takes them away from reality.

The question, however, arises. What makes metaphysicians view the real which is eternal flow in the form of rest? In answer to this question, Bergson says that every living being has two functions to perform. The first is knowledge and the second is the preservation of life. What we want to know is the real, and therefore rest is of no value for knowledge. But we not only want to know but also to live, and for the purposes of our life, we find it convenient to conceive reality in the form of rest. It greatly simplifies our practical affairs to look upon the world as a gigantic machine. It is a matter of very great moment to our practical life if we can reduce a number of laws to one unchanging law. This is why Science always replaces a heterogeneous multiplicity of laws by the unity of one fundamental law, the law of Nature.

Corresponding to these distinct functions, there are two distinct faculties. The first is *intuition*, the faculty by which we know reality. The second is *intelligence*, the faculty by which we fabricate tools to help our practical life. The one is concerned with the world of reality, the other with the world of practice. Intelligence is always concerned with the practical needs of life. Its object is to smooth our practical life, to increase the comforts and conveniences of life. But when we are left to ourselves, when we have no interests to serve, then intelligence does not help us. When we want to *know*, we take leave of intelligence and employ *intuition.*

The above is a brief summary of the main principles of Bergson's philosophy. It marks a reaction against the intellectualism of the nineteenth century. Intellectualism has done wonders for Science but it has made Philosophy one-sided. It is due to intellectualism that we see everything through the spectacles of concepts.

The poet Rabindranath also like Bergson has accepted movement as reality.

In many forms the poet has presented movement to us. Thus, he calls it the young, the unripe :—

O young life, with green fancies a-bubbling in thine head !
Thou unripe, thou immature !
Bring thou life in thy pitiless knocks to soul half-dead !
In the dawn that is drunk with the red, red light of day,
Let the fools who will cavil address thee as they may ;
Pay no heed to their arguments vain, but go thy way
With thy movements unshackled, thy limbs untrammelled,
O restless youth, with green fancies a-bubbling in thy head ! [1]

And what is restful, what is mature has grown useless and is fit only to be fixed on the painter's canvas and to doze away its life :—

There the old, the wise bird that is grey and ripe with age,
His two eyes, his two ears, 'neath his wings, the hoary sage,

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[1] *Balâkâ*, p. 1.

Like a picture on canvas e'er drowsing sits in cage,
Engirt within the walls of darkness still.[1]

On the appearance of this new life, all the restraints of laws, all the restrictions of customs will be swept away :—

Lo, there stands the ancient fane
Of the Goddess of the chain :
Will it stand for evermore?
Come, O Folly, with thy main
Burst her consecrated door ! [2]

Taking this young life as our guide, we shall have to march to unknown lands :—

Take me where the pavement endeth !
Yearning in my soul engender
For the boundless mystic splendour :
There my dream her footsteps bendeth.[3]

The young life is a force of destruction : it shows no mercy to the old but wants to destroy it immediately. For this reason, the poet has called it the destroyer :

There comes disastrous doom amain !
Anguish surges like a flood,
Swollen with sobs of pain !
Lightnings flash on blood-red clouds,
Thunders roar in forests dark,
Peals what madman's laughter, hark !
Again and yet again ! [4]

This disastrous doom is not to be dreaded ; it is in fact the only thing that brings us salvation :—

Fie, stop, those tears, that plaintive moan !
  Why hidest thou thy face aghast,
  Why seekest thou a corner lone?
E'en though thy door-chains snap in twain,
  Fare forth with dauntless mind outside,
  Beyond all pleasure and all pain !
There comes disastrous doom amain ! [5]

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[1] *Balâkâ*, p 2. [2] *Ibid*, p. 3. [3] *Ibid*, p. 3. [4] *Ibid*, p. 5. [5] *Ibid*, p. 6,

Our salvation lies in moving ever forward, without ever turning back or casting a look behind.

> Forward ! forward ! who can keep
> Us ever back, or bind us ?
> They will doubtless weep, will weep,
> Who idly stay behind us.
> We'll snap our bonds with bleeding feet,
> The dappled day we'll rush to greet,
> While they supine in bondage sweet
> Lie lapped in slumber deep
> They will weep, will weep.[1]

This march forward will take us from death to the deathless.

> Clouds will burst, and lightnings gleam,
> All bonds to burn and rive.
> Freedom's flag will wave and stream,
> To heal all doubt and strife
> From Death's hand will snatch, with glee,
> The cup of immortality.
> With all their strength they clasp Life's tree
> Death's fatal fruit to reap.
> They will weep, will weep.[2]

This message of life is called the fearless trumpet. The call of this fearless trumpet makes all rest and quiet impossible. A sort of intoxication of motion seizes everybody.

> The wounds that festered in my heart
> I thought would cease at length to smart;
> I'd wash all stains that me engirt,
> And pure and clean become.
> Before me, in the dust and dirt,
> Thy trumpet great lay dumb.[3]

This message reaches us through storms and through the ruffled waves.

> In the gloom of midnight the Boatman sails
> Across a surging sea.

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[1] *Balākā*, p. 8. [2] *Ibid*, p. 9. [3] *Ibid*, p. 11.

With his white sails kiss'd by the stormy gales,
Alone he comes to me.
Now the dim sky swoons on the ocean's breast
With the poisonous potion of gloom oppressed
And the waves are drunk with wild unrest,
And sweep and rush and flee.[1]

This message when it reaches us takes us to unknown shores.

O'er the trackless waters his boat doth glide
On what nameless shore will he find his bride?
Doth a lamp there glimmer above the wide
And dark immensity?

Truth is to be sought in the midst of this movement, it will not do to seek it in the immense vacuity of rest. This is also the message of Bergson. It is for this reason that he says that reality cannot be obtained through concepts. The poet says precisely the same thing in the sixth poem of his "Crane," (Balâkâ) when he calls the intellectualised concept a picture, as compared with the reality.

Art thou a picture mere, on canvas limn'd?
That starry cluster, distance-dimm'd
That throngs its nest
On heaven's breast;
That tireless traveller's band,
A-journeying through the darkness, lamp in hand,
The sun and moon and stars that speed
Through fleeting year by year;
Art thou not real like those, indeed?
Art thou alas, a picture mere? [2]

Yea, even dust is real
These leaves of grass
That lie at the universe's feet, alas,
Are real, too—they change from green to sere

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[1] *Balâkâ*, p. 14.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 17.

Thou changest not—thou art a picture mere,
A picture mere!

Likewise truth is lost in the enormous heaps of things. It is to be sought in the pangs of the heart, in the surgings of the bosom. This is the message of the lines relating to *Taj Mahal*:—

Thou knewest, O Emperor Shah Jehan, how swift
On Time's resistless drift
Renown, wealth and youth and life, alas,
Glide far away and fade, and pass.
Thou soughtest one thing to raise above all death—
Thy sorrow's inmost breath.
* * * *
Let jewels' and diamonds' flashing glory share
The fate of fleeting rainbows' magic gleam in empty air;
But let one tear
Glisten bright and clear
For ever on the stainless cheek of Time,—
Tajmahal, sublime.[1]

But the pangs of the heart are of more value than this Taj Mahal, sublime though it be.

The chariot of thy life careers amain,
Leaving behind thy many-storied fame
Again and again:—
For thou art greater than thy name.
The sepulchre
Ne'er doth stir:
It holds and hides old death with loving care
In Earth's grey dust,
'Neath memory's crust.
But who will hold or hide or bar
Life, to which star by star
Calls and beckons from afar?
Its welcome lies
In divers worlds, new rising suns, and many skies.[2]

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[1] *Balâkâ*, p. 23.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 29.

How, then, does life express itself? If even that highest achievement of mankind, Taj Mahal, cannot hold life, how is life to be expressed? Bergson says its form is eternal flow. The poet also says that its expression is the ever-flowing river:—

O river vast and free,
Thy viewless waters rush and sweep,
Resistless, deep,
In silence ceaselessly.
The great void shivers at thy fierce and formless speed
The dash terrific of thy currents breed
Glittering foam in heaps and clustered rings,
That live as Things;
Life bursts in dazzling gleams, in colour'd streak and spark,
Through the hurrying dark.
On whirling eddies' edge are spun,
Like bubbles, moon and star and sun.
O mighty Amazon, O Titan dame,
The wordless cadence of thy being
Is thine own journeying
Without an end, without an aim.[1]

If this flow is ever checked, then it is congealed into "a mountain-heap of things."

If in a moment's mood
Of lassitude
Thou stoppest on thy path,
The Universe, in sudden wrath,
Would bulk gigantic with its mountain-heap of things

Consequently, it should always be our effort to keep it ever flowing.

Leave on the shore the shoreland's hoard and gain,
And look not back again!
And let thy fate be cast
Upon the torrent vast

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[1] *Balâkâ*, p. 31.

Far from a noisy Past
  Allured by visions bright
Toward endless night—or shoreless light!

* * * *

So far the poet marched in the company of Bergson. But now their ways part. The poet feels that his song will be incomplete, his message unfinished, if it stops with movement. Motion, pure motion, motion that takes us to no destination, a march that is not a march towards any goal, is a very dreary business which can never satisfy the human mind. The soldier will march hundreds of miles most gladly if he feels that he has some destination to reach, either the enemy's fortified position or some similar thing. But ask him if he will go on marching without the prospect of ever coming to any terminus, he will reply that the very thought congeals his blood. The poet therefore seeks in the ninth poem of the "Crane" some traces of bliss in motion. Here his interest is not simply in the motion but also in the joy that sustains it, in the bliss that crowns it. This is the point when his ways diverge from those of Bergson.

Who hath given thee life full-blown,
  Insensate stone?
Whence springs this ceaseless nectar of delight,
  O marble white?
Wherefore hast thou held aloft, from hour to hour,
  Earth's bliss that hath blossom'd like a flower.

As he sees in breathless march a glimpse of joy, so also he discovers in the relentless look of the dreaded Rudra a ray of compassion.

O Lord of dreaded name,
Thy grim forgiveness dire
Is in the crash of thunder-fire,
In ruin that's writ in sunset-flame,
In fearful floods of gore,
In sudden blind collision's clash and roar,

And then,
Where do I see
The judgment-throne of thee ?
The mother's tears are shed
Upon their violence red.

Movement does not rest in movement. Its nature is to pass from the implicit to the explicit, from unexpressed to the expressed, from the formless to that which has form. This great truth is proclaimed by the poet in the sixteenth poem of the "Crane." The subject of the poem is very abstruse, namely, the struggle of the formless to obtain form, and it is very easy to misunderstand the poet's meaning. Happily for us, the poet has given us his own interpretation of this poem which appeared sometime ago in the "Shantiniketan," the journal of the Shantiniketan Ashram. The first stanza runs thus :—

The world of Things, a giant crowd,
  Doth laugh aloud ;
And dust and sands
  They clap their hands,
And ever dance,
  And skip and prance,
On every side, like rings of boys,
  In empty space in endless festive-noise.[1]

The poet's interpretation of this stanza as follows :—"On all sides one hears the weired laughter of mountainous heaps of things. They are all dancing a wild dance. The noise seems to be that of the clash of things against one another. On every side there is nothing but the madness of the impulse for form. The impulse for form has obtained shape in things and has acquired motion, and it is its song that one hears."

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[1] *Baláká*, p. 53.

Man's million viewless thoughts and phantasies,
  Desires that never cease,
Are lured by Things, whose beauty is their pride,
  To be their playmates by their side.
Dreams darkly seek with ardent wings
  To voyage to the realm of Things;
Borne by obscurity's stream profound
  They seek with all their might to grasp the ground,
With grip of stock and stone to stand
  Awhile on solid land.[1]

The bands of unrealised dreams are seeking realisations. They want to go beyond the region of the unexpressed to acquire form. They seem, like submerged creatures, to rise to the surface of form. They cling desperately to the soil and seek shape in bricks and mortar. It is this unexpressed desire seeking shape in things that makes a city and not heaps of bricks and stones.

Thus man's thoughts are constantly taking shape in things. A city is not a conglomeration of houses. If it were nothing more than this, it would be a wilderness, though it might be a wilderness of houses. What makes it a city, is the striving of the unexpressed thought to express itself in things. The bricks and mortar, iron and wood are only the forms which give a quietus to the striving of the shapeless desire to acquire shape.

Man's creation, therefore, implies, firstly a striving after form, and secondly, a concrete form that gives rest to this striving. Bergson has ignored this second element in all creation, which, however, is no less essential than the first. The city of Delhi is what it is by the accumulated dreams of a long succession of mighty monarchs seeking realisation in concrete form. It is not the dream alone, as Bergson would say, or the concrete shape alone, as the realists would have it, but it is the dream extinguishing itself in this form.

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[1] *Ibid.*

By whisperings of many a homeless voice unheard
Out of the past, the wide void skies are stirred ;
They seek the songs I sing,
Near human dwellings, with unwearied wing.
Those lampless pilgrims march with tireless hurrying feet.

The heaven's light to greet,
Their soundless tumult's surge
In thousands urge
My formless fancies shaken by the storm
Of thirst far from,
To fly from mind's dim caves,
In waves on waves,
O'er viewless deserts waste
In eager haste.[1]

The poet explains these lines thus:—"We only see those efforts which have succeeded in acquiring form, but there are innumerable others which march 'with wearied wing' towards expression. The desires and aspirations of our forefathers have not been entirely fruitless. No, they are still moving in space. They say, 'We have no voice. Let us seek your voice to express ourselves. We have no vessel to hold ourselves: let you be our vessels.' Countless unheard voices of this kind are moving restlessly in space, seeking an outlet for expression, they are all "lampless pilgrims," seeking the river-bank. They have emerged from the caves of thought and are wandering through the desert driven by the insatiable thirst for form."

When will thy light,
Those thoughts of mine in flight,
Leaving the centuries behind ?
Some day, in far creation's wondrous light,
Their destin'd incarnation they will find.
Who'll know whence they
Did spread their wings to-day ?
And suddenly some poet will give them name,
Or in some picture-frame
They will be caught, or built as palace-crown !
In what far-off nameless town,

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[1] *Balâkâ*, p. 54.

Whose sign to-day no country yields,
Will lie the vague foundations of their seat
In ghostly sacrificial fields?
In canon's smoke and heat
What dreadful future war
With trumpets' blasts will sound their names afar?

The truth of movement therefore, is not to be found in the movement itself, but in the desires which are eternally striving after form. As these desires are never content to remain mere desires, so movement is not content to remain for ever movement.

On the other hand, the things become mere husks, if the desires are taken out of them. The city becomes a dead load of bricks, the picture-gallery a mass of canvas and paint if the desires which seek expression are ignored.

The desires which seek an outlet are not content with one form. They always pass from form to form. Their thirst for form is unquenchable.

Bergson has altogether ignored this form. He believes that the form is only a practical convenience which we have invented. Motion will ever remain motion. Or, in other words, motion is time. Whether it is a palace or a city or anything even more substantial it is nothing but a pure fiction of our imagination, a creation of our intellect. Its value in the realm of reality is zero.

Like Bergson Rabindranath also recognises two tendencies in man. The first is unceasing movement, the second is freedom from movement. But both these tendencies are, in the poet's opinion, directed towards the same object, namely, the investigation of truth. He does not like Bergson call the one a search for truths and the other a search for tools. Both are equally entitled to our consideration as modes of approaching the truth. To one of these tendencies he has given the name Urvasi and to the other the name Lakshmi.

Ages agone,
In dim Creation's dawn
Up rose two women from their bed
Of abysmal deeps unmeasured,
Above the churned primal sea.
One, Urvasi fair,
Celestial dancer of the upper air,
Of all the world's desire the mistress fair;
The other, Lakshmi, heaven's queen,
The mother of all, serene,
The good, the debonair.
The one our virtue smites and sunders,
Our hearts and lives she plunders,
Filling spring's goblet with the fiery wine of laughter,
Flinging with both her hands before her steps and after
Mad April's babbling wild that blooms and blows
In Kimshuk red and passionate rose,
In songs of sleepless youths.

The other brings us back to cool
Heart-easing tears that soothe,
To sweet contentment's pool;
To fulness of the peace, the balm
Of autumn's ripe fruitions' golden calm.
She guides our feet
Toward the blessing of the universe, made sweet
With beauty's smile across its features cast.

These lines depict the incessant construction and destruction that is going on in this universe. It is not possible to ignore this, it is not possible to ignore the gigantic upheavals, the catastrophic changes that perpetually arise on the surface of the earth. But if these cataclysms were everything, then the world would be a very poor thing. So we find that running through all these tremendous upheavals, there is the hand of Lakshmi, the goddess of abundance, who brings all these cataclysmic movements into a sort of harmony. The world is in need of this restraining principle, quite as much as it is in need of the principle of movement. The world-music, if it is to be music at all and not the wild clash of dissonent notes, requires this restraining force.

I think all the difficulties in Bergson's philosophy are due to his ignoring the spiritual side of movement. It is indeed very curious that Bergson though continually harping on his theme of creative evolution, of which he seems very proud and which he with a great flourish of trumpets sets over against the mechanical evolution of the scientific evolutionists, completely ignores this spiritual aspect of evolution. Poor Spencer! How small he looks when pushed to a corner by the triumphal march of the all-conquering creative evolution! Yet in the matter of the spiritual character of evolution, Bergson perhaps errs more than Spencer. For there is at least this to be said in favour of Spencer, that he makes no parade of the purposelessness of evolution.

Indeed, the words "creation" and "creative" have no meaning except as denoting a purposive activity. All the examples which Bergson has given of creative activity have nothing creative about them. Let us take the famous example of the painter which occurs in the "Creative Evolution." The creativeness of the painter consists, in Bergson's opinion, in allowing himself "to be formed or deformed" by his works. He therefore says "what we do, depends upon what we are; but it is necessary to add that we are in a certain measure, what we do and we create ourselves continually."[1] This is what he means by "creation of self by self." But what is the creative element here? If the painter really possesses any talents then his paintings will give expression to his ideas. How can the painting affect his talent? Of course, if he possesses no talent, if he makes sketches tentatively then it may happen that in the course of such desultory sketching he may hit upon an idea. But a painter with any pretension to talent, never proceeds in this way. He starts with a definite idea and gives form to it in his paintings.

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[1] *L'Evolution Créatrice*, p. 7.

Movement, therefore, can never be called creative, unless there is in the back of it a purpose that realises itself through it. The creative element, in fact, is not in the movement but in the self whose purpose is manifested in the movement. The nature of true creation is thus indicated by Rabindranath :

> Thou hast given the bird the song with which
> the woodlands ring;
> He gives no more to thee.
> My voice hath been thy only gift to me;
> I give thee more—I sing.
>
> Others their gifts receive from thee ;
> Thou seekest gifts from me !
> Whatever I can give thee out of love
> With smiling face thou takest, coming to my door,
> Yea, from thy throne above,
> Thy hand receives back more,
> Each time, than all thou gavest me before.

This giving back more than is received constitutes the essence of creation. If I were a purposeless creature like the bird, I should have been content with the gift that I have received. But my creative activity is manifested when I receive only the voice and make with it a song, that is, when I return more than I receive. Purposive activity is manifested in this returning more than is received, and this constitutes the essence of creation.

The process of creative evolution, which is the process of the realisation of the Infinite in the finite, is throughout marked by the pulsations of desires and ends and purposes. It is not a blank movement, moving, nobody knows when, but it is a movement full of colour, full of life.

> The fulness that is thine arresteth not
> Thy joy in thine own wealth a jot.
> And so, the riches that is thine,
> Bit by bit, thou'lt make it mine.

And thus the universe will be
Ever-new, O Lord, to thee.

Thus, day by day, thou buyest, through mine eyes,
Thine own sunrise.
And day by day, thou dost recognise
The alchemy thy love doth hold
Within it, turning my life to gold.

Bergson finds nothing in life but movement. He has not seen the contact of life with the Infinite. He has not perceived the play of colour, the vibration of joy which alone makes life what it is. Truth appears in a rigid, austere form to him. Therefore, he has lost sight of all that really constitutes life and sees nothing in it but blank movement. The poet Rabindranath, however, sees things differently.

Entering the heart of death if we no nectar gain,
Nor truth in all our fight in pain,
If sin die not for shame at its own ugliness,
If pride snap not in twain
Under the weight of its intolerable dress,
What secret hope leads these,
Who've left their homes of ease,
To rush in millions unto death's black night,
Like a myriad stars toward morning's light?
The blood of heroes, the tears of mothers—must
Their work be wasted in the mortal dust?
And shall not heaven yet
Be bought? And shall not all this debt
The Universe's treasure-keeper pay.
Shall not the night's dumb penance bring the day?
When with the blow of death
In anguish'd night of pain man shattereth
The limit of his mortal clod,
Shall not the glory dawn of the immortal God?

SISIRKUMAR MAITRA

EPIDEMIC DISEASES AND SOCIAL SERVICE[1]

You are probably aware, that Sir John Woodroffe, late judge of the Calcutta High Court, wrote a book called "Is India civilised?" This was written in defence of Hindu civilisation against the unjustifiable and senseless attack on Hindu culture by one Mr. Archer. Sir John in his able defence, stated incidentally, that Hindu religion based as it is on true conception of life, namely spiritualistic as contrasted with materialistic view of life, is still a living faith, even after the lapse of something like 6 or 10 thousand years from its origin, as computed by different savants—a thing not shared by any other civilisation of the world such as Iranian, Phœnician, Hellenian or Roman—all of which have died out after having flourished for a limited period. This Hindu culture has even outlived the independence of the very nation from which it has sprung and has not been extinguished even after 2 thousand years of subjection to a foreign rule having culture opposed in every way to Hindu culture. But this ardent advocate of our culture deplores at one place in his book, that what swords and bayonets of conquerors could not do, malaria and phthisis by creating havoc among the Hindus, are going to do, by death literally wiping out the torch-bearers of this spiritual light. As you disciples of that great present-day protagonist of Hindu culture, Sree Ramkrishna Deva, have combined in yourself the spiritual culture of the Hindus along with social service to humanity, it is meet and proper that your social service should not be blind social service based on faith alone, but should be, in order to be effective, based on the solid bedrock of truth as found by deductive science of the West. This hankering after truth has made you, no doubt, seek medical men versed in the modern science of medicine for giving you an idea of the essential truths of preventive medicine, the western followers of which, though not belonging to any religious order, can however take their place among the front rank of the best social workers. Who will deny this honoured place to a Pasteur, Robert Koch or a Jenner, or the lesser shining lights of the order, namely Ronald Ross or Col. Gorgas, men whose discoveries or method of application of the discoveries to the people at large, have benefited humanity much more than any munificence of a Carnegie? It has made Rockefeller, the iron king of U.S.A. to spend a fortune out of his huge saving, through the International Institute of Preventive Medicine—created out of his munificence giving an yearly income about 9 crores of rupees—He thought this method of spending money is far superior to paying money in the shape of alms to the suffering humanity.

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[1] Read on 8th April, 1926, before Ramkrishna Sangha at Belur.

Now to come to the subject of my paper. As you are not versed in technical language of medical men, this paper of mine dealing with a technical subject is likely not to be intelligible. So, I will begin my subject with a little generalisation for which I hope to be excused.

In this world of ours, all things which meet our eyes are classed as living and non-living things. The living things are again divided as belonging to the vegetable and animal kingdoms. These living things can again be divided, for our purpose, into living things visible to the naked eye, and living things not visible to the naked eye, but detectable through the microscope which for the sake of convenience we call living microscopical world. Actions baneful or beneficial of the living visible beings on the human beings are palpable enough. The rice and the wheat come from vegetable kingdom for sustaining us. Aconite, Nuxvomica and Belladona are poisons to human beings, they are also of vegetable origin. Cattle and horses are of service to human beings, they are of animal origin, and the tiger and snakes are of positive disservice to human beings. They are also of animal origin. These we know. But people think they have got very very little to do with the unseen microscopical world. If there be any, they say, as these do not come within their purview, these need not be taken into account. But a little reflection will show that the unseen world has got as much influence in shaping the destiny of the human race as the visible world. They come prominently before our mind's eyes when epidemics like Cholera or Plague break out, take away millions of human lives. The Malaria parasite alone has destroyed civilisation of Rome and Greece, and has been instrumental, in shaping the destiny of many a nation including ours. On the side of economy of nature, one example will show, how essential is the very existence of the visible living world on the microscopic world. Putrefaction of dead bodies of animals dissolving out the higher constituents of animals such as muscles, bone and skin, into lower compounds as water, sulphuretted hydrogen, ammonia, etc., are exclusively done by the unseen microscopical world. These lower compounds are assimilated for use by the plants in building their structures which otherwise would not have got any nutrition. Besides, if these putrefactive processes, dissolving out organs of the dead animals, did not take place, the world would have been covered with the dead bodies of animals,—the jackals and vultures cannot by any means compete in any way with this work of nature's scavengers, their number being too small for the purpose. Incidentally, I may mention that the species belonging to the living microscopic world, not to speak of their number, exceed by far the number of those of the living beings of the visible world (vegetable and animal) and have besides objects which are in no way inferior in beauty and so are capable of exciting our imagination for making us adore the Great Designer of this world. Which living things visible to the naked eye can compare with an Euglena gambolling about in bright sunshine in our pond water or a volvox in its glittering colours also present in myriads in our tank water? Those who have seen them under the microscope and have seen the beauty and appreciated the arrangement of the mechanism of the internal organs of the organisms cannot but say that they have seen nothing so beautiful in nature. Who can explain why these beautiful things of nature have been kept away so long from being seen by mortal eyes, unless and until modern science revealed their existence? But along with these beautiful things, whose existence ordinary human beings cannot dream of, there are living things belonging to the microscopical world, whose presence though no one can make out by ordinary eye, are yet present in our surroundings and which show themselves by the terrible effects on the human race when men die of plague or cholera.

Our ancestors guessed their presence by inductive reasoning without actually seeing them, as much as a modern astronomer guesses by inductive reasoning the presence of a dark star associated with a luminous one, in the binary stars, by the effect of the dark star on the luminous one without actually seeing it. The cleanly personal habits ingrained on us by our Sastras—cleaning daily the body by bathing in running streams—cleansing of the mouth in the early morning—prohibition of urinating or passing stool in the water meant for drinking and washing, have their origin in this inductive reasoning; we see this injunction being carried out even now. Now-a-days these microscopical organisms producing these devastating diseases are being studied with closest possible care, by scientific men, for differentiating them from the thousands of absolutely harmless organisms such as those producing curdled milk as well as those taking part in economy of nature in acting as nature's scavengers. Every such organism has got a peculiarity which is its own, as much as a cow or a goat has its own peculiarity. It is no use mentioning the distinguishing points of these disease-producing organisms in detail to such an audience. It will suffice if I say only those points which are necessary for prevention of epidemic diseases with which we have to deal with in this country as for example Cholera, Malaria, Kala-azar and Phthisis. The germs of Cholera are found in millions in the stool, urine and vomits of a Cholera case. These are not ordinarily found in nature in drinking water, unless it has been recently contaminated with dejecta of a Cholera case. The period during which it can live in water, after which it dies out by the action of sun and wind, is variously estimated as between 4 to 10 days. So, all the precaution that is required for stamping out Cholera epidemic is strictly limited to make the dejecta of a sporadic Cholera case occurring in a village, absolutely harmless by using some disinfectant. We have found actual demonstration of this truth by which would-be epidemics of Cholera, originating from isolated cases, were prevented. The annual Gangasagar Mela used to be followed, on each occasion, by a terrible epidemic of Cholera occurring among the pilgrims; and then spreading to Calcutta and numerous villages along the banks of the river Hooghly. This was an annual affair, as was the festival. But adoption of precautionary measures based on this knowledge, in which the District Board of 24-Perganas, Public Health Department, and the various voluntary organisations including Ramkrishna Mission, have contributed their quota to make them a success, and have not been followed for the last three years by the devastating epidemics of Cholera of the previous years; thus demonstrating that action based on the knowledge of the peculiarity of this unseen microscopical world, would lead to such brilliant success, by which thousands of precious lives have been saved from untimely death. This points to the extreme necessity of this knowledge being the common property of every man or woman or child inhabiting our country. The organism causing the devastating Malaria of our country, making villages where millions of people could live happy lives, away from the wicked and cut-throat competition of the towns, absolutely uninhabitable, are not found in stools or urine of the patients; but they are found inside the blood contained within the closed network of channels called blood vessels, situated deep in the human system. For their spread, nature has provided a mosquito which with its deep penetrating fine hypodermic needle-like stinging apparatus draws out the parasite containing blood unconsciously and after a time when it bites again a healthy man, it injects with its saliva deep into the tissues the poison, which starts multiplying into countless numbers. Action based on the knowledge of the habits of mosquito, and this peculiarity of the parasite added to others which need not be mentioned here, have given us the means for prevention of malaria, as is being done by numerous village societies spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, among which Belur Society is a bright example. Everywhere actions following these teachings of science have given results commensurate with the sustained efforts put forth by the village people helped by their robust optimism—a thing not always seen in this land of fatalism. Similarly, Kala Azar, a devastating disease supposed to have its origin in Assam, has unsuspectingly been found in almost every village in Bengal, and no one knows as yet definitely how it spreads; but even if this knowledge be vouch-safed to us at a cost of tremendous amount of money going up to lacs spent in research laboratories, it will not be of much use to us, as we have found a means of completely eradicating the disease with the help of a large number of medical men and will be able to make it a thing of the past, if we get a sufficient amount of support in men and money. The sum required for the eradication of the disease from the whole province is not heavy and does not even exceed the sum being spent annually on research. Any one wanting to be convinced of the truth of this statement, has simply to see how Kala Azar problem has been solved at Belur and at what nominal expense. What were the number of cases of Kala Azar in Belur, before the K. A. centre was opened? Seventy. What are they now (*nil*) after the efforts of two patriotic medical men—(Dr. Nalin Chatterjee and Dr. Jibananda Mukherjee.

Lastly, about the organism causing tuberculosis or phthisis or consumption, taking away thousands |of most intelligent and educated youths of our country. I have got something to say on this. This organism has got the peculiarity, it is not a temporary sojourner in our system producing symptoms revealing its presence in the human being like the Cholera or the Plague germs, the moment it enters the system. It can live in ours ystem for years without showing any noticeable symptom, though it will kill ultimately most of the victims where it has taken a lodging. One great peculiarity of the germ which is also dependent on the property of prolonged stay in the human system without showing itself up, is that the environmental surrounding of the sufferer has got a great influence on the activity of the germ. This environmental surrounding does not mean in,one word, stay in hill station or on the beach of the sea, as is thought by our ordinary medical men. Mental worry, physical labour, and a thousand other things which contribute to the well-being or otherwise of man, have got as much influence on the activity of this germ as staying in hill stations. In nine cases out of ten, medical men not cognisant of all these factors, make a short cut by making dogmatic statements which seem to be truth for the time being, but which after a few years, are found by the patients and their relations as not absolute truth—it is then too late to rectify matters—it results not only in patient's death but in also dissemination of the germ through spitle to his nearest associates, who will again get the same short-sighted advice, based on incomplete knowledge from our medical men, and be again victims of this advice after 4 or

5 or 10 to 12 years. This is what is going on, every where here. But this is not what is happening in European countries as England, France, Germany or U.S.A. Their actions are far-sighted. Children of phthisical parents are snatched away by what is called Grancher's system in France from the care of their parents long before they get infected and are distributed to healthy families never to return to their families. Knowing the prolonged period the germ remains in the system without showing itself up, they devise means for early detection. Besides, they know that simply stay in hill station is not the real panacea of this disease (thousands of men are getting the disease while living at Almora, Nainital, Simla, Darjeeling and Kurseong). Worry of life due to financial trouble which is increased by their stay for a prolonged period from their place of livelihood contributes to the death of the sufferers, and the ozonised air of the hill stations can have but only a temporary effect on the system. To counteract the evil action of this socioeconomical factor the European workers have devised a system called Tuberculosis Village Settlements, where on the factor of pure air of mountains, is placed as much importance as the mental worry caused by financial trouble. And accordingly, occupation suited to the physical and mental condition and previous training of the sufferers—are given as much importance by men versed in gauzing human feeling as well as gauzing peculiarity of the germ causing the disease—a desideratum not easily got. This can only be had by bitter experience gathered from actual work and cannot be had from mere book learning. In this country of sunshine and open air and people living agricultural life—towns being few and far between, and people yet not completely materialised, a fraction of our old spiritual life being still retained, it is as easy as possible to put the above truth into practice—if the scientific men of this country versed in the knowledge of the disease join hands with you, in developing a colony.

The system by which it can be done need not be given here in detail. The main principle of the scheme will be to pick up as early as possible, the cases in which the germ has just found a nidus and make themselves settle in places where they can have plenty of sunshine and ordinary pure air. They will live in such a way that they can manage to earn their livelihood without any arduous labor. Their spiritual side—their mind—has to be looked after so to as make it possible for them to settle there—even if the amenities of the so-called civilised life be not found there.

GOPAL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

IN THE SUBWAY

I

Because I am an oriental, I dream.
Even in New York— the nightless— I, of the Orient,
dream.

Out of the station I am pushed into a dungeon
With men, women, children,
Head to waist, shoulder to breast,
Sitting, standing, racing with Time,
Chasing Space.

Nature is quickened— Thunder God cheers the race—
Goddess of Lightning waves her handkerchief through
rows of little windows.

I turn my head—I try to look.
No heaven, no earth; only night
Where dragons ride
With speed that snuffs the wind.
Behind my ears I feel wind-arrows.

II

A monster flies at us in front—
Big angry eyes— one blue, one red!
He is fiercer than the jungle tiger when night is black.
I wait to be devoured ......
But his roaring dies.
I open my eyes— I see the monster's iron net-work cage.

English verse-form by Edna Worthley Underwood. *Printed in The Lyric West, Los Angeles, California January,* 1926.

III

In front, beside—
Strange beings in human form:
Ghosts of all peoples,
Ghosts of beauty, ghosts of ugliness.
Some have black faces, goat-curly hair;
Their eye-brows do not shine, but only eye-white.
These are grandmother's stories of night goblins......
Women with blue-fountain eyes,
Apple cheeks, and willow waists;
Upon their shoes lacquer,
Little arches under their feet;
Hair-coiled, gold sun-cloud.

IV

A little bag,
A bead bag with a tassel,
Ting-a-ling-a-ling!
It opens.
Out comes its heart— a mirror.
She looks into it.
With right hand she holds a soft, sweet cake— all white.
She does not put it in her mouth—
She dusts her tiny nose-end with powdered sugar!
I smile.
I am so delighted!
This is Hades become Heaven.
I watch.
I am so afraid my dream is brief.
I forget the dungeon-road returns.

The dragon stops.
Daylight!
The ghosts vanish.
A flash, a clap of thunder— the dragon disappears.
I am alone.
I am sad.
Space has disappeared.
I cannot find Time again:

Chi-Hwang Chu

THE SPHINX IN SPLINTS

I cannot rhyme thee, noble Sphinx, with any words polite,
I 've viewed thee by the garish day, but never in the night.
But I have seen what few have seen, these past five thousand years,
I 've seen thee wrapped in scaffolding about thy hoary ears,
My camel slithered down a slope, and bore me to thy hole.
He grunted once and doubled up; he was a surly soul.
The dragoman salaamed with grace, and bade me watch thee smile,
Then pocketed my gippy pound, he was a man of guile.
I failed, dear Sphinx, to see the grin; for I was full of woe,
To find thy face with wooden poles, encircled in a row.
I hied me back to Mena House, and tried to drown in tea,
The disappointment that I felt at seeing naught of thee.

F. Keeling Scott

SOME SIGNIFICANT INDIAN ANIMALS

ON MONKEYS.

The Indian *Bundar* (monkey) has been so inextricably woven into the annals of legend and story that it is impossible to ignore his place in the Hindu Pantheon. This little human caricature, gnome and sprite of the jungle belongs to the elect, and to kill or injure him is an unforgivable crime. That he has been degraded to the usages of the wandering fakir and animal trainer, tied to a string, dressed in grotesque garments and dragged over the country to go through his pitiful antics for the benefits of a group of stupid country rustics, detracts none from his original position of sacerdotal dignity.

Hanuman, the monkey general, is a great hero in the Indian epic of the Ramayana, one reads tales of his prowess through all the pages of that book of noble recitative; of his rescue of Sita from the dread demon god in Ceylon; of his army of monkeys that made a bridge for Rama and Sita to cross in safety to India; of his bravery and resource, his strategies and valour.

He has risen to the height of a god and is one of the most beloved of Hindu deities, and for that reason the monkey in India is sometimes worshipped, always respected. His existence as a God dates from the period of the Ramayana and not in the pre-Vedic days. So that it is evident that the Monkey Cult is not as ancient as the history of the monkeys themselves in India.

His images are seen everywhere: one may pick up little brass statuettes of him in any native bazaar, and he is seen in fresco, mural, sculpture and painting.

In the life of Benares, he occupies a prominent place; there is a monkey temple devoted to his species; and in other shrines and temples throughout India, there is usually a niche for Hanuman, as well as duplicated replicas of his image in the temple decorations.

He wanders in great numbers in the temple precincts, for he knows that offerings of rice are made to him and he is allowed the freedom of all sacred places. He also cannily frequents the habitations of man, for he is sagacious enough to be alive to his opportunities, and takes advantage of the "free lunches" available to his kind. He often commits mischievous depredations, steals and annoys generally the people in the country districts. The true Hanuman type is represented by the black-faced, long-tailed monkey called the *Presbytes illiger* or *langur*, specimens of which are to be seen in any ordinary zoo. They appear very temperamental in disposition, alternating swift moods of agile acrobatics with periods of depression and indifference. There are many species of the primate in India, the Hoolock, the *macacus rhesus*, or brown monkey; and the little Assamese creature, known as the " shame-faced one."

In Jaipur, we have seen troups of monkeys on the roofs of the houses, peering over the edge at us, hiding behind cornices, or in the trees, for all the world like a crowd of timid yet playful children. They are very fond of frequenting any bazaar precinct as there they have the opportunity of pilfering choice foods from the open stalls of the tradesmen, making away with nuts, fruit and grain dear to their hearts.

However " sacred " in symbol and sign, one is not blind to the fact that the monkey is a most unmoral adventurer, instinct with natural vices, full of tricks, uncertain, and comical withal. Somehow, he always seems to represent the epitome of animal humour, and his antics always find an interested and appreciative audience among grown-ups as well as children.

In Western cities we are accustomed to see monkeys attached to the string of an Italian organ-grinder, and dressed in little jackets and caps; to watch him scamper among the spectators with a tin cup begging for pennies for his master. We feel, however, that he is in an entirely wrong setting, and again our sympathy goes out to those poor little captured creatures of the wild.

In India the sound of the "monkey-drum," its sharp staccato punctuating the silence, is a sure sign that some hapless descendant of the noble Hanuman is being led along by a string, a potential entertainer for a few pice. Small reward for the monkey, trained and beaten into submission to go through his meagre bag of tricks for the avarice of his low-born master.

To those who study monkeys closely, it will be seen that their instincts are fascinatingly human in many instances, but that the main characteristics of the little animal are child-like rather than "grown-up"; they are more mischievous than vicious, exhibit the same destructive instincts that a small healthy boy does; love to play, and indulge in primitive gymnastics, are easily amused and entertained. Strange to say, they have very decided tastes and intuitions about food and show discrimination in the matter of diet. They are sometimes bad-tempered and suspicious, and can show malice towards enemies, but, on the other hand are capable of consuming affection, of jealousy, of maternal love, and other human traits. In common with most animals they have a system of community and family life, largely patriarchal. There is usually a leader, by right of power, among troops of wild monkeys, and a primitive conception of organisation and activities.

Tame monkeys in zoos, whose activities are restricted by captivity and inadequate space, make the best of their condition and indulge in capers that are mirth-provoking to old and young; at other times they seem to exhibit a wistful melancholy and sit for hours, listless and indifferent, brooding on mysterious thoughts.

In India, where the monkey is inviolate, one has a better opportunity to observe their natural habits in a wild state; troops of them abound in most towns of the plains as well as in the hill-stations.

Monkeys have given the evolutionist room for thought, and they will continue to do so; their place in the scale of anthropology has not yet been established, but we must be content with the belief that the "*Bundar logue*" are notes in the same harmony of life in which we all play our bit; they are concrete proof of some creative force, just as we are; they manifest many of the same qualities, are mutable, finite and frail in the flesh, even as we are; as for the spirit, or that vital spark which keeps our current of life going, who can say? Perhaps we are akin, perhaps the old Hindu idea of respect and veneration of the monkey is not so far-fetched as it seems at first glance. Who knows the tie that binds us with the *genus primate*! Children of the inscrutable Past, both, we wait for the ultimate answer to the riddle.

ON GOATS AND BEARS.

The combination of goats and bears may seem a little unusual, except for the fact that they frequently go together in India as trained animals. Animal training has always been a popular profession in India, although it is only undertaken by low-caste natives who enforce the attitude of abject tameness in their conquered beasts, by starving, beating and generally ill-treating them.

The bear has no particular place in this story other than that of a wretched harlequin, who goes through his clumsy paces at the orders of his sometimes cruel masters. They frequent the vicinity of Fairs, and any Festival or public gathering will find them in evidence.

The gray and black bears of India, are by disposition easily trained, as they are of amiable nature ; unfortunately, the brain capacity of the leader himself is so limited, that his pupils naturally do not transcend his teaching, and anyone who has witnessed a performance by a trained bear will agree, I think, that it is a most pathetic sight. Imagine an unhappy bear, clothed in his heavy fur coat, dancing in a temperature of one hundred and fifteen degrees in the shade, for the benefit of stupid and pitiless oafs, who are sometimes on no higher mental plane than that of the animals they witness! At the very best, the lot of a trained and captive bear is a wretched one here on the burning plains.

Roaming the wide spaces of the high hills, robbing honey-combs of their sweets, eating berries, and living an inoffensive life, he is a very different creature from the half-starved, ill-kempt picture of misery that we see plodding along drearily at the end of a keeper's string. How we would like to reverse the situation and give the end of the string to the bear and let him drag about the erstwhile trainer to put him through the same meagre tricks for the benefit of his brethren of the road! May we hope that this just vengeance is meted out in another and better land.

GOATS.

There are several aspects to the life of a goat in India, none of which are any too cheerful, for in one case the shadow of horrid sacrifice hangs over their heads from birth, and in the other, a lesser shadow, but still a shadow, haunts them that they will be fated to play unhappy roles of "trained goats." One state is bad ; the other bad enough, for in the instance that they are sacrificed to Kali, their transit to a better world is swift, and a period is put to the sufferings of the goat in question. In the event that he is doomed to serve the ends of a low-born nomad trainer, he is bound for life in the bondage of degrading servitude to a stupid and cruel master.

Sometimes too, he is destined to be used as the foundation of the not too succulent curries of the lowly; his tough meat serving as a literal "piece de resistence" for some typical Indian Khana. The happiest picture we have of goats and goat-dom is seeing them in their pastoral setting, herded by a ragged but cheerful boy, who waves his long stick and talks to them in language that they presumably understand. Happily, some of them escape the dread fates here, and are allowed to live a free life, to graze on the *Maidans* and to share the simple life of the peasant in peace.

But above all, the goat is the chosen animal of sacrifice in India. Is it facetious to wonder if the expression "Being the goat" originated here at Kalighat on a sacrificial morning?

You have only to go to the temple of Kali here, or anywhere in India, and you will see, on special ceremonial days, "Holy Days," or Festivals peculiar to the Hindu, a long line of waiting victims, led by pilgrims who come in the belief that merit is to be gained by offering a goat on the sanguinary altar of the dread *Kali Ma*, the Goddess of destruction.

The court-yard of the Temple is a shambles, the foreheads of young children are daubed in the fresh gore as a sign of *Shiva* and *Kali*; ghastly detached heads pile up as offerings to the Priests; the wretched sound of hopeless bleating fills the air; the smell of blood cries to Heaven, and we sicken in our souls at the sights and sounds in such a spot and in contemplation of the barbarity of such pagan customs.

Verily is this world sometimes a place of misery, of ignorance, superstition and savagery! We think of that One who delighted not in burnt offerings, but in the sacrifice of a pure and contrite spirit; and we hope that this old world will some day learn that the destruction of the created does not please the Creator; to learn that a prayer from a humble and sincere heart is better than a thousand goats! But this is not intended for a sermon unhappily, having witnessed such sacrifices here in India, it is hard to refrain from making a speech on the subject of archaic and obsolete customs of Sacrifice and Fetish in a country that ought to be more enlightened in this year of our Lord 1926.

Has man really progressed much beyond the anthropoid state? Is he not still a savage underneath the skin? Has he yet overcome that Fear which drives him to senseless sacrifices, propitiations, secret rites, black magic and all the rest of the hodge-podge of superstition that goes to make a "mixed grill" among the more primitive people of this Country? Countless centuries of repetition have etched these accustomed observances upon the copper-plate of the brain in indelible acid. Repetition, habit, and custom grow and become as fixed as the "Laws of the Medes and Persians." Is there any hope, we wonder? Again, must we leave the answer to the Unknown Fate of to-morrow, and new-day's destiny.

ON SNAKES.

When we speak of snakes in India, we usually think of Cobras, for the Nag, or "*Adi Sesha Seshnàg*" (Ananta), is the title of the sacred serpent of Vishnu. The Preserver, the Second-person of the Hindu Trinity. With its tail in its mouth, it represents the cycle of Eternity. Vishnu is depicted as resting on the coiled body of the Ananta, and is protected by its symbolical seven-hooded heads. Serpent lore abounds among the uneducated masses and the stories date back to that ancient animistic period, when the Nag represented the sun which was worshipped as the creator and giver of life. Beliefs in serpent-folk, or Lamia, still persist, and there are still many temples dedicated to the Cobra, and many followers of the serpent-cult who place offerings of milk and food at the haunts of the sacred snakes.

The objectifying of fear creates devils, or Gods, according to how one calls them. The deadly Cobra, as one of the creatures of Nature, whose fatal bite had long been a bane to India's folk, came to occupy the position of a deity or a symbol of deity. Nag-worship grew in the minds of the superstitious and ignorant peasant. The *Nag Panchami*, or serpent's holiday, is a festival set apart in honour of serpents, and the rites common to serpent worship are called the "sarpa homa."

The poisonous Cobra is honoured by his devotees, and because of his powerful and deadly qualities is worshipped and propitiated with gifts and sacrifices. The snake, as a symbol of evil, is not unknown to Christendom; in the scriptures "he was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made." The serpent, as evil incarnate, tempted man to sin in Genesis; his name is used as the epitome of wickedness, of venomous and unholy wisdom, and he is connected with many legends and religious allegories.

In India, aside from his religious and legendary importance, he has a place in the story of significant beasts because he is a very real and active menace to the life of agricultural India.

Although it is estimated that fifty thousand people die yearly from snake-bite here, it is very difficult to find an orthodox Hindu who is willing to kill any reptile. The only creature who will willingly kill snakes and collect bounty, are the very lowest caste jungle-dweller, and since the snakes are so much in the majority, there does not seem to be much likelihood of their immediate extermination.

To the average Indian, a bite from a Cobra means death, for only the intelligent few understand the use of antidotes, and their fear is so much greater than their faith in any cure that they generally do die from snake-bite. In a certain up-country "Moffussil" district, the people believe that any-one bitten by a snake is possessed of a devil or evil spirit. The local Magician is called in and the method of exorcising the devil, also naturally kills the unfortunate victim as it consists of stamping on the body of the "Possessed" one, by a number of relatives! Soon life is extinct, and we hope the victim is permanently cured of all fleshly ills, including snake-bite!

Among the peasants of the country districts the snake is the appointed guardian of the cattle, an unwise choice, as hundreds of cows, and other animals used in rustic life, are killed yearly by snake-bite. Such inconsistencies do not tend towards the extirpation of a dangerous pest whose existence is fostered by gross ignorance and superstition.

The only individual in India who has actually made use of the snake as a business asset is the "Snake-Charmer." The chief actor in his little open-air drama is the Cobra (*Naja tripudians*) and his assistant is the mongoose, whom popular superstition credits with the knowledge of an antidote for snake-bite, but as most of the cobras we see "dancing" to the tune of the scrannel pipe have already had their poison glands drawn, I cannot testify to the truth of this statement.

The "Nat," or snake-charmer, is a nomadic vagabond, an opportunist and usually a clever rascal who pretends to have the power of charming snakes and of catching them. He also boasts that he can rid any house of reptiles; hence his services are frequently required by the country folk who are too stupid to see through his ingenuous methods. This saffron-clad rogue always carries a supply of trained snakes who will come at the call of his pipe, and who are placed in the house supposed to be inhabited by a snake. He plays a familiar strain and the snake scrawls out of the thatch of the house to the amazement of the rustics who do not know that this particular snake is an old hand at game with his master. By the time that the duped householder realises that the original snake is still inhabiting his domicile, the snake-charmer is on his way to pastures new, having pocketed his fee with his tongue in his cheek.

The snake-charmer has no faith in the snake-fetish, no belief in its immemorial sanctity. To him a snake is a snake only, and merely a convenient and easy means of earning a living. He is a low-caste individual who has followed the calling for generations. His profession is hereditary, and he wanders from place to place staging his little show for the benefit of the passers-by and in the hope of collecting "pice." However, hundreds of years of repetition, the same caste following the same calling, may have bred a sort of natural affinity between the snake and his master. Actually there does seem to exist some subtle understanding beyond our comprehension; at any rate those who have heard the plaintive notes of the *punji* (gourd flute), the immortal instrument of snake-charmers, calling the hooded Cobra from his wicker basket, and who have seen the serpent rise slowly in rhythmic movements and wave its "spectacled" head to and fro in time with the weird melodies, can testify that there is something fascinating in the picture. Even after four years of living in India and witnessing the endless procession of snake-charmers, and endeavouring to catch and record the elusive tunes of the gourd flute, the old charm is still there, a charm to which I could never become blase. There is a primitive faraway strain in the music of snake-charmer; a thin reedy quality that might have come from some old pipe of Pan in an Arcadian forest. Small wonder that the serpent-folk are lured to follow this Indian "Pied Piper."

The snake-charmer may be a rascal, a cunning, reckless vagabond, intemperate, degenerate and unregenerate; he is none the less master of his art, and undoubtedly weaves some sort of magic-spell over his creatures. That there is mesmerism in music has been admitted, particularly in the wild untrammelled melodies of the jungle snake-charmer, whose weird and strange tunes have come down through the ages, passed on from generation to generation.

The snake-charmer caste is clannish, secretive and nomadic by nature and habit. They rejoice in the freedom of life which knows no laws, no *restraint*, and which does not recognize poverty as a handicap. Content with little, they wander from village to village with their "properties" enclosed in baskets swung at the end of poles, clad in saffron rags, bedecked with barbaric necklaces, umkempt, impudent, wily folk who batten on the stupidity of the rustic who regards them as magicians.

Of all the inglorious band of charlatans, mendicants, jugglers, fakirs and "witch doctors," who move through the indolent and somnolent pageant of the palm-clad Plains, none strike a more picturesque attitude than the wastrel snake-charmer, piping his way on a gourd flute, attended by his serpent "familiar," weaving his magic in the hearts of his hearers, under blazing tropic sun and beneath radiant tropic moon.

THE TIGER.

The Bengal tiger, "King of the jungle," hidden in his lair by day, dreams of the night and the stalking of prey in his domain of tangled tree and bush and vine. Clad in the coat of royal black and yellow, he strikes a dominant note among the more soberly-clad beasts of the forest. His voice, rasping and raucous, sounds terror to hearts of the timid jungle creatures, who tremble with fear at the sound of his mighty roar. Luckless the creatures, who *cross* his path, for with one powerful blow of his paw he deals death on the *unwary*.

Nightly, he prowls on marauding expeditions, *literally* seeking whom he may devour, stalking his victim, scenting his prospective feast, silent at will, as he creeps with sinuous movements through the jungle grass, his rhythm one with the forest sounds and the night.

Descending on the lonely homesteads of the peasants in the little villages in the Plains, he waits with lashing tail and gleaming yellow eyes, for the opportunity of seizing some unfortunate victim. He snatches a goat, a calf or a child with equal avidity, and makes a way with his prey ere the frantic creatures can sound an alarm. Death in tiger-form walks abroad in the Indian night in the lonely outposts of the countryside, for the carnivorous tiger relishes both man and beast with equal appetite. All is grist to his mill.

Emboldened by hunger, he sometimes walks abroad by day and so falls into the trap that clever Shikaris have set for him. The " kill " is tied to a convenient bush, within gun-shot of the hunters perched on the "machan" (platform in a tree), and, as the ravenous tiger springs on his hapless prey, the mighty hunters take a shot at the tiger.

Should the animal be merely wounded, and discover his enemies perched on the frail " machan," he turns from his intended victim and dashes furiously towards his human assassins, a snarling, roaring, spitting, clawing, mass of charging fury. This time the shot must reach a fatal spot, no easy task for a rapidly moving body, or else the whole "machan" is in danger of collapsing against the powerful onslaught of the pain-maddened tiger.

Presuming that the hunter strikes the vital spot, as the tiger is in the act of springing, the stricken beast falls to the earth insensate, mute, and a potential rug for somebody's drawing room. Sportsmanlike ? Perhaps, but what a humiliating end for so lordly a beast. To be baited by man, lured to a " kill," shot from ambush, and forthwith a trophy of the prowess of the hunter.

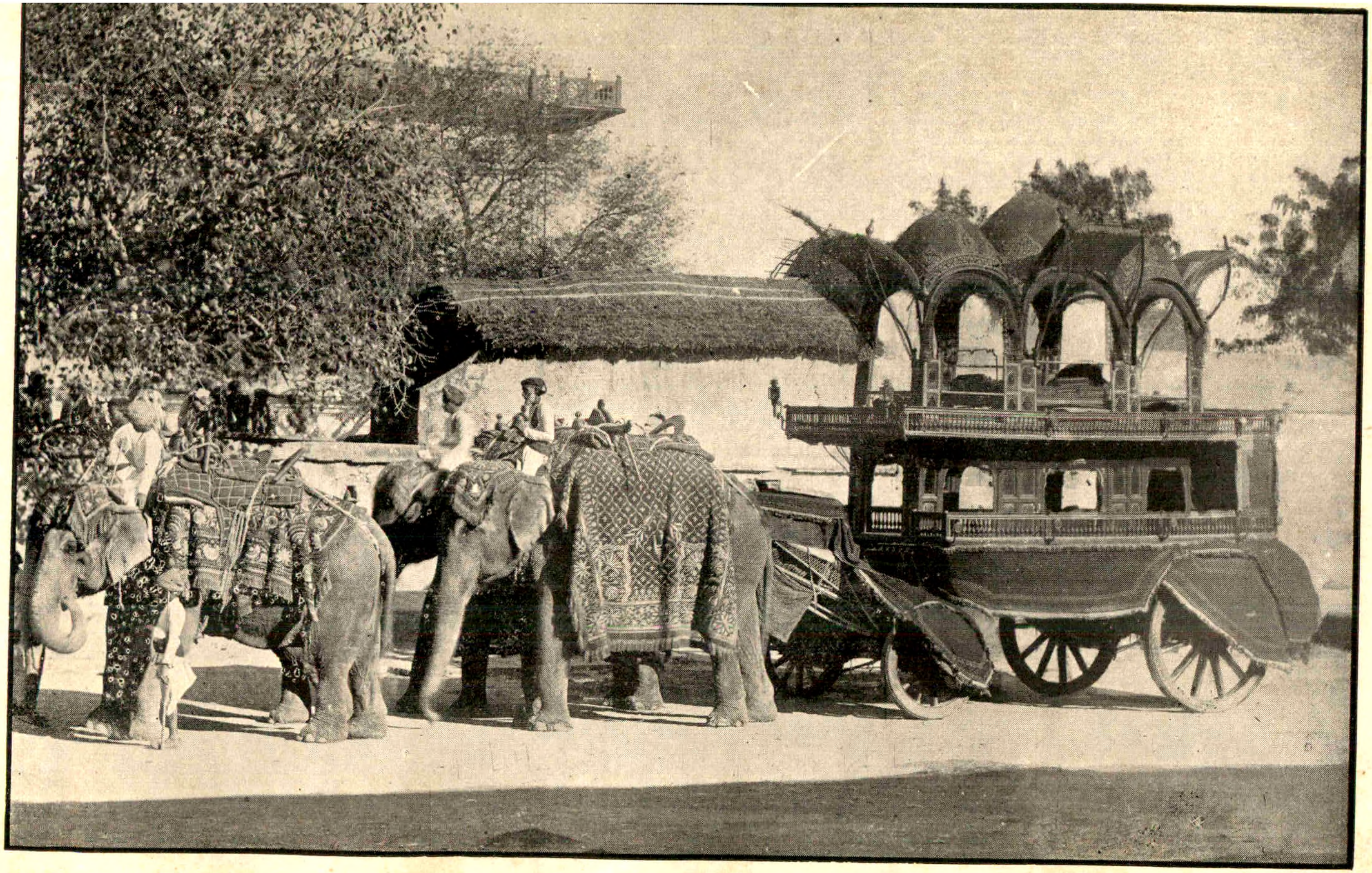
The tiger in India figures in the list of legendary characters as the vehicle or creature of Durga, wife of Shiva, in the form of a powerful warrior who deals death to the enemies of the gods and men. Many stories are told of the prowess of Durga, which may be read in the "*Skanda Purana*," the "*Vamana Purana*" and the "*Markandeya Purana*," which accounts differ somewhat in detail, but unite in proclaiming Durga, powerful, wonderful, mighty in battle, bravery and valour.

She is equipped with symbols of various first-water gods; the trident of Shiva, the discus of Vishnu, the conch-shell of Varuna, the dart of Agni, the bow of Vayu, the quiver of Surya, the thunderbolt of Indra, the mace of Kuvera, the rosary of Brahma, the shield and sword of Kali and the battle-axe and weapons of Visvakarma, and thus armed and fortified, is accounted unconquerable and invulnerable.

Durga is depicted as a golden-coloured woman, nobly strong and beautiful; ten armed, and each arm grasping a symbol or a weapon; and is inevitably accompanied by her tiger upon whom she rides to battle. Durga Puja, a festival set apart to this popular goddess, is one of the most important of Hindu holidays in Bengal, and continues for three days, in the winter season.

There is a famous hymn to Durga in the "Mahabharata," wherein her many names are mentioned and her attributes sung. As Jagaddhatri (the mother of the world), she is pictured seated on a tiger which represents her symbol. In this form she has four arms, is dressed in red, and carries the conch-shell, the discus, bow and arrow.

And so our tiger plays his part in the brilliant legends of the Hindu mythology, a part which he deserves, as a lordly majestic creature, fierce and ferocious as he is. He has won the title of "King of Beasts," and his kingdom is the wild, unconquered realm of the jungle and forests, where he moves among his subjects, king by right of power and strength, feared but not loved by the lesser beasts.



Elephant Carriage

THE ELEPHANT.

It seems fitting that the *burra Hathi*, because of his great bulk and his romantic history, should form the crescendo and climax of my animal procession. Lord of the Pageant: Lord of Thunder: Most beloved and popular of all Indian animals, his mighty figure moves with deliberation and dignity through the picture of Durbar, processional and ceremonial, dominating the scene and striking a strange and barbaric note that always fills the spectator with a thrill of interest.

The elephant is selected in Hindu mythology to represent the god of luck and success, Ganesh; his head is placed on the fantastic pot-bellied, squat, fat figure of the deity who is most popular and auspicious.

At the undertaking of any new enterprise, the opening of a house, the beginning of a new business, as a totem for the lintel of a doorway to dwelling or office, Ganesh is invariably called upon to lend his humorous and happy figure as a good omen. His sign is the swastika, known all over the world as an emblem of good luck, and the Ganesha emblem as well as the god himself are the appointed protectors of the pilgrim, the traveller, the merchant, the student and in fact, everybody who wishes for success and happiness. His origin as a God dates back to those early days, when the Hindu Pantheon dwelt on Mt. Meru in the far off Himalayas. He is the son of Shiva and his wife Parbati, and the story of his elephant-head on a human, or god-like, body is accounted for in the fact that Shiva returning from an absence found the unexpected baby in the arms of his wife. Roused to anger he cut off its head, and repenting when he learned the truth, he cut the head off an elephant standing by put it on his baby's body. Thus, to make amends for the elephant-headed creature's strange appearance, Shiva gave him the power of creating success and good luck and of wisdom and knowledge as well.

The images of Ganesh present him as having four hands carrying a discus, a goad, a coach-shell and a lotus. He sits on a lotus and is accompanied by his vehicle, or creature, a rat, which is supposed to be sagacious. A great festival is held yearly in his honor, lasting four days, when thousands of his images and effigies, gaily decorated in bright colours, are carried in a gala procession and then thrown into the nearest sacred river or body of water.

He is usually represented as sitting down, his fat, squat body, reminding one of the equally fat Bannia, or merchant, sitting among his wares in the bazaar. In some very old pictures and reproductions of images, Ganesh is shown standing, playing on the vina or drum at the court of Indra. He is said to have patronized music and written the "Mahabharata" at the dictation of the sage Vyasa.

The elephant has always been popularized in early Hindu poetry, and he enters into the many stories of the gods in various ways; having at last climbed to a very exalted seat in the council of high gods. It would take a great deal of space and time to recount all the annals of the elephant in Hindu history and legend, as well as in the uses of everyday life. Each aspect, or phase, of this life presents a different angle and an interesting picture.

The hereditary *mahout*, who claims a secret understanding with the great beast in his charge, has many weird and fascinating stories to tell of the wonderful intelligence of his noble charge. The mahout, who actually seems devoted to his beast and thoroughly congenial with him, has a grand collection of pet names which he showers on the huge animal who rejoices in such titles as: Pearl, Lily, Rose, Jasmin, darling one, little one, and so on. The mahout talks to his beast as he would talk to any human, and it seems that he is always understood. In spite of his enormous bulk, and probably unsuspected strength, there is no animal more docile, obedient, gentle, and kindly than the elephant, so long as he is treated well and understood.

Notwithstanding his admirable qualities of disposition, it was no uncommon thing in old India to use the elephant as the instrument of justice, and as executioner. In Native States, where the reigning Raja's word was all powerful, the executioner elephant was always waiting in the royal stables, to be called on to execute justice, or more often injustice, at the whim of a tyrannical potentate.

The elephant was trained to crush the head of his victim beneath his mighty foot, or to tear him from limb to limb at the word of command. We do not like to dwell upon this aspect of the history of the elephant, and shall pass over that dark chapter, without further remark.

The elephant, being domesticated, is said to be extraordinarily clever at piling logs, or doing any work required of him. He is, of course, popular as a vehicle of big game hunting, especially tiger hunting. The hunters, seated in a howdah, go into the tiger district and root out the animal who frequently charges the elephant and springs against his great body, tearing and fighting, and it is then that the supreme test of the hunter comes. He must shoot, and shoot true to the mark. A wounded or charging tiger knows no mercy, and in the excitement of the general melee there is great danger. A cool head and a steady aim at this crucial moment wins in one of the most thrilling games in India.

The elephant is the natural insignia of royalty, and a Raja's wealth and might is counted by the number of these animals in his stables. He uses them for purposes of both state and sport: he rides abroad among the natives of his villages and impresses them with his power and majesty. They are the invariable accompaniment of processions, and I know of no more inspiring sight than gorgeously caparisoned elephants, bedecked in all the pomp and panoply dear to the

Oriental heart, striding along, with the waving motion of a sailing vessel, conscious of the tremendous impression they are creating.

In the cities of Native States, such as Jaipur, these great beasts are a common part of the life of the streets, and always lend an atmosphere of romance and charm to the Eastern picture. When we have seen a street crowded with throngs of gaily clad humanity, dominated by the presence of these mighty creatures, we are satisfied that we have seen a picture of India.

He is a gorgeous figure in a wedding procession, or a durbar, and gives barbaric splendid air to any scene. His huge bulk is dressed with the utmost pains, his trunks tipped with gold; his forehead painted in gay designs, ornamented with tassels and beads, with red and gold and purple velvet trappings, scrubbed and polished and bedecked with silver ornaments, bells, and all the garish but suitable paraphernalia of dress parade. To dress an elephant for a state occasion requires as much time and patience as it would to give a house a spring-cleaning, yet the finished result is so completely satisfying that we are sure the spectators, the mahouts and the elephant himself are all equally gratified. As a final touch, a gilded howdah is perched upon the canopied and ornately dressed back of the noble Hathi, and he is ready for the Rajah, a superlatively splendiferous creature, eminently adapted by Nature to express the magnificence of royal office in the brilliant sunshine of tropic India. Sri Ganesh Kai Jai! Hail to thee, Lord of Thunder and of the Pageant, noble Elephant!

(Concluded.)

LILY STRICKLAND ANDERSON

A MEMORY BROUGHT BY THE PINES

Oh, the breath of the fragrant, long-leafed pines!
It fires the heart like the Lesbian wines
That were pressed from the grapes of classic Greece,
And brought to life's sorrows a sweet surcease;
Poured from flagons all frosted with snow,
And sparkling as love in the long ago!

Then a bird that swung on its swaying bough
Was minstrel of Pan, not a bird as now;
The flower that grew by the brook apart,
Sprang from Narcissus' breaking heart;
And the trees that sighed in the forest dell,
Held nymph or maid in a love-woven spell.

Ah, beautiful myths of the past long dead;
Ah, romance and mystery ever fled!
Great Pan, where are now the sweet muses nine?
Where are the gods of the Delphian shrine?
Faded and gone like a last Winter's snow—
Ah, beautiful days of the long ago!

Sweet pines, do you moan the days that are gone?
Did you sing love-songs in Creation's dawn
To the nymphs that dwelt in your fragrance deep,
Who now with the past and buried gods sleep?
Do you moan for them, as my heart moans low,
For the vanished love of the long ago?

As I close my eyes, and stretch out my limbs
On your carpet of brown, and list your hymns—
As I drink in your breath I drift far away
In a mystic dream, to a golden day
When I wandered with one in Daphne's Grove,
And learned the first wondrous lessons of love.

Garlanded with flowers we lay on a bank,
Where flags and sweet grasses grew lush and rank;
And like two Dryads, unburdened by care,
We cast our love-songs adrift on the air—
We knew nought of law, we cared nought for time,
Love flowed in verses, and kisses in rhyme!

Afar we listened the syrinx at play,
And knew that lovers were passing that way—
The star-'broidered curtain of mystic night,
Was our bridal tent, and the moon our light—
The nightingale orchestra in the grove,
In oratorios burst forth to love!

Then by the rites of love I was thine,
In union complete, and true and divine!
Ah, murmuring pines, with your croonings low,
Ah, haunting love, with your wonderful glow—
You break my heart, and I join in your moan,
For I am alone, alone, alone

TERESA STRICKLAND

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

Repeatedly down through the ages, the religious soul has wrestled with the problem of evil. God is both all-good and all-powerful: yet Evil exist! How reconcile these two contradictory ideas? How penetrate the awful mystery, and grasp the peace that will guide through life's deeper problems?

One way is to assume that Evil exists, and proceed to deny either that God is all-good or that God is all-powerful. This is the way chosen by certain recent philosophies. But they do not agree among themselves as to which of the two attributes must be subtracted from the religious and supposedly exaggerated conception of God. Intellectualistic Pluralism or Personal Idealism, championed by James, Ward and Howison, frankly stresses God's goodness at the expense of His power; while Intellectualistic Monism or Absolute Idealism, maintained by Royce, Bradley, and Bosanquet, implicitly stresses God's power at the expense of His goodness.

The interest of Pluralism is mainly ethical: it wants the good God to control the world as its Guide. The interest of Monism is mainly metaphysical: it wants the great God to embrace the world as its Ground. Pluralism chides Monism for its failure to exclude from God the defects of the world. Monism chides Pluralism for its failure to include the reality of the world in the reality of God. Both alike seem to be right in positive emphasis, but also right, alas, in criticism of the other; and the one's gain is the other's loss!

Now if the doctors could have agreed, the religious soul might have cast aside its intuitive hopes, and submitted to the operation for the removal of a portion of its God. But since they disagree, it again begins to trust in a God both all-good and all-powerful, both above the world and around it, both ethically transcendent and metaphysically immanent. Moreover, its trust can now be not only intuitive, but intelligent as well; for the light kindled by the clash of the combatants illumines a way out of the difficulty.

By this light we see, first of all, that the connection between God's goodness and Pluralism, and between God's power and Monism is not accidental but essential. Goodness comes only from peace, perfection, purity, freedom, self-determination, from all the virtues that express the unique *distinction of the One from the Many*: and Pluralism, with its basic belief in the ultimate reality of the Many, finds it quite easy to distinguish one from the rest, and load it with the sum of universal goodness. Power, on the other hand, comes only from completeness, origination, consummation, absorption, absolute determination, from all the virtues that express the total *inclusion of the Many in the One*; and Monism, with its basic belief in the ultimate reality of the One, finds it quite easy to include in it the sum of universal power.

But precisely because the God of Pluralism is only one among many, He cannot be all-powerful. And precisely because the God of Monism sums up the many, good and bad, He cannot be all-good. Thus, the problem of Evil is based on the problem of One and the Many: and since Pluralism and Monism cannot agree here, they cannot agree about God.

Now the light of controversy may show us furthermore just why they cannot agree on the One and the Many. Both philosophies are a form of Intellectualism, regarding Reality as a *system*,—a system of events in their causal chain, a system of facts in their net of relations, a system of moral agents in the bond of obligation, a system of developing individuals realized in an Absolute; in short a Many systematized in a One. Whether it be called empirical or rational, free or predetermined, evolutionary or eternal, finite or infinite, Many or One, it remains a system. The Monist applies the term God to the whole system; while the Pluralist applies it only to the moral ideal roving about apparently free within its limits: but both of them, as Intellectualists, apply the term *system* to Reality.

But a system, by definition, is a "placing together," an assemblage of objects according to some definite plan. It is thus determinate and limited, a function of the Many, an integration of units, in which the units are primary, the integration secondary. The One is here defined wholly in terms of the Many; either as a unit limited and surrounded by the rest of the Many; or as an integer limiting and summing up all of the Many. Hence, a system cannot be ultimately One: *a system must be Many.*

Working thus within the limits of the Many, Intellectualism has shut itself out from the consideration of a genuine One. And since Intellectualistic Pluralism and Monism have failed to solve the problem of the One and the Many, they cannot expect to solve the derivative problem of Evil. Whether God be a unit as in Pluralism, or an integer as in Monism, He is a limited function of the Many; and accordingly limited either to mere antagonistic goodness, or to mere aggregate power.

The light of controversy has finally led us to see that the way out of the difficulty lies not in Intellectualism with its one-sided and inconclusive treatment of the basic problem of the One and the Many, but in some more comprehensive kind of philosophy. We are looking for a One that fulfils the aim of both Pluralism and Monism, at once *distinct from the Many* and *inclusive of the Many*; a genuine One, inwardly indivisible and outwardly irrelative; a One containing determination and limit, and yet itself free and illimitable; an adequate realization of the visions of the One described for successive ages by Plato, Thomas Aquinas and Kant.

Now such a One cannot be contained within the cognitive and structural categories of logic: it overflows into the experiential and functional categories of life. For logic is of the Many, whereas life is of the One. Hence in seeking a solution of the problem of Evil, we must turn in philosophy from Intellectualism to *Vitalism*. Vitalism is able to solve the problem of Evil, because it immediately solves the problem of the One and the Many. Instead of starting from the Many and seeking to derive the One by logical *organisation*, it starts with the One, and derives the Many by vital *creation*. In creation, the One is sufficiently *distinct from the Many* for the One is unseen; the Many, seen: as distinct as function from structure, continuity from change, noumenon from phenomenon, spirit from matter: yet the One *includes the Many* as their continual source, support, and goal. Precisely because it actually produces spontaneously from within ever anew and afresh the limit, distinction, and interacting determination of the Many, the One itself remains free, fluidly expansive, and self-subsistent beyond the imagination of outside reference.

Upon this basis of Vitalism then, the problem of Evil may be successfully attacked. The One is God : and since goodness depends on the distinction of the One from the Many ; and power, on the inclusion of the Many in the One, God may be thus with perfect consistency both all-good and all-powerful. And the intuitive trust of the religious soul is intellectually justified !

But steady ! We have only now reached the crux of the problem. We have still to grapple with the idea that evil exists, an idea, of course, utterly inconsistent with the idea of God's all goodness and power. But what is evil ? The opposite of good. And what is good ? According to vitalistic philosophy as represented by Dewey, "human good ... consists in the meaning that is experienced to belong to an activity when conflict and entanglement of various incompatible impulses and habits terminate in a unified orderly release in action." (*Human Nature and Conduct,*

p. 210.) Now this definition is sound as far as it goes; but it does not answer ultimate questions. Are we to infer that conflict is necessary to the meaning of harmony? If so shall we then widen and deepen our conflicts that good may abound? If not, then is conflict either the eternal ethical opponent or else the eternal material substratum of harmony in a dualistic universe? Can human good be defined apart from cosmic good?

The definition is insufficient not because it concentrates on human good; for if man be a microcosm, and human good a species of good in general, what is basically true of man is true of the cosmos as well: the definition is insufficient because within the realm of humanity itself, it is partial to one type of experience at the expense of another. While it expresses the good of *control* arising, for instance, in discipline, classification, and reform, it neglects the good of *creation*, arising in play, invention, and artistic production. In order to supplement it, let us turn to Bergson, the chief proponent of the vitalistic philosophy, who stresses the creative aspect of good.

To Bergson, the meaning of life, the culmination of evolution, the destiny of man, and the supreme good is the joy of *creation*, expressed in the free, loving activity of the vital urge sending forth from within an infinite variety of vegetable and animal species; in the experience of the mother, the industrial manager, and the artist; but above all, in the experience of the great and good man, the inventive hero, whose intense and generous activity kindles the lives of his fellows, and drawing much from little, something from nothing, adds to the richness of the world. (*La conscience et la Vie* in *L'Energie Spirituelle*, pp. 24-27).

There is no difficulty in combining these two definitions. Both vitalistically envisage the Good as an immanent, dynamic *meaning*. Bergson gives a metaphysical basis for the ethical emphasis of Dewey. The conflicts which Dewey would harmonize spring from the variety described by Bergson ; but variety, being wider than conflict, contributes to the richness and good in the world directly through sheer original harmony, as well as indirectly through harmonized conflicts. The " unified orderly release," in turn, is a potent expulsive drive that spontaneously creates new variety, with its conflict, in the eternal rhythm of life. As L. T. Hobhouse says.

> "........... harmony is not only a product, but a condition of development. Any structures ...... incompatible with one another must cancel out and destroy one another as they come into contact .... In the harmonious whole, on the other hand, the elements instead of cancelling maintain one another, and if the whole consists of organisms each capable of developing, the harmony involves mutual furtherance of such development." (*Development and Purpose*, pp. 362-63.)

Cosmic Good, then, is the meaning experienced both in the creation of variety, and in the harmonization of the conflicts that genuine variety *may* from time to time produce. In short, *Good is creative harmony*. And Evil, its opposite, is whatever opposes creative harmony. Now it might seem that all evils could be reduced to *conflict*, which would then be the arch opponent. But this is not the case. Conflict, as such, does not oppose : for as a possible result of living and striving variety, and as material for the work of harmonizing, it may truly be integral to creative harmony, integral to Good. Only when conflict, or any other precarious experience, is allowed to go on apart from and unchallenged by creative harmony, does evil arise. Hence the *opposite* of cosmic Good—namely, Evil—is simply and solely the *lack* of it.

Now cosmic Good is only another name for God (when God is thought of as the Creator) ; and the lack of God is precisely the condition designated by the term *sin*. Accordingly *Evil is sin*, no more, no less. This conclusion, opposed to the idea that Evil lies in outer circumstances, declares it to be an inner attitude. In spite of supremely painful, unjust, and humiliating circumstances, Jesus Christ is the triumphant incarnation of the most joyous Good, because His *inner attitude* was void of Evil. An act may by called sinful: but sin itself is not an act; it is the inner attitude producing the act, an experience of want, a "motion away from God," a "fall from divine grace," the measure of the gaping distance between the soul and God. The term sin, as a damning label for defects of omission and commission in attitude, may be used as an instrumental concept to improve events; but sin is not an event, not an existence. It is a relation, a *subsistence.*

We are now in a position to grapple with the idea that Evil exists. Since Evil is sin, and sin, as a subsistence, does not exist, *Evil does not exist.* The cry of the religious soul is answered. The contradictory ideas of God and Evil are reconciled not by denying the supreme goodness or power of God, but by denying the existence of Evil. God exists. Pain exists. Likewise conflict, ignorance, misery and disaster. But Evil does not exist: it subsists.

To realize that God and Evil thus do not belong to the same class is to realize how futile, illogical, and absurd is the attempt to reconcile them. The opposition is merely one of verbal definition in the first place! Evil is the term for the *lack* of God, just as *nothing* is the term for the lack of reality. The idea of *nothing* does not deny reality. It is simply an instrumental concept by which we label a reality that presents itself to us in the place of the reality we are seeking. (Bergson, Creative Evolution, pp. 272-97.) For instance, if we seek money in a pocket, but instead find only air, we may remark that the pocket contains nothing. We thus express what we have as a function of what we want. But no one infers from such practical usage that *nothing* is a substance, a sort of perverse and rebel existence that denies reality. Similarly, in the religious life, experiencing a hollow satisfaction in the place of a sound one, we may call it evil;

but no one is justified in inferring therefrom that *evil* is an existence denying God. What we *have* is an existent hollow satisfaction. Expressing it, practically, as a function of what we *want*, namely, a sound satisfaction, or God, we call it evil. Evil itself, however, remains not an existent but an experienced function of existence, and an instrumental concept for improving existence ; a term for the lack of God, not an actual possession.

Yet, to maintain that *evil* subsists rather than exists is not to imply that *evil* presents no problem, any more than to maintain that nothing subsists is to imply that *nothing* presents no problem. When the rent must be paid, and we " have nothing," a situation truly serious arises. Likewise, when God calls us to a life of bliss, and we " have sin in our hearts," the problem is life's very greatest. Sin is utterly horrible, and cannot possibly be reconciled with God.

Then how have we solved the problem of evil ? What is the value of calling *evil* sin, and *sin* a subsistence, if practical opposition still remains ? Is it a leap from the frying pan into the fire ? The answer is that the problem of Evil in its fulness is not and cannot indeed be solved by the writing of a paper : but it can and will be solved by the championing of good in everyday life. Theoretical philosophy may contribute to the solution by vindicating, without blinking the hard facts of life, the union of all-goodness and all-power in God, so that the religious soul may grasp the peace and power that only cosmic confidence can bestow : but the complete solution does not come until that peace and power is harnessed up to the practical philosophy of personal regeneration and social reconstruction, and turns the kingdoms of this world into the Kingdom of God. *Evil* cannot be reconciled with God either in theory or in practice ; and therefore it must be destroyed.

The *possibility* of evil, or sin, can be explained as integral to good. Along with the vitalistic conceptions of dynamic creation, successive grades of good, individuality, freedom and responsibility, all of which are good—goes the possibility of the partial isolation of the Many from the One, the sin of men against God. But sin itself cannot be explained, because explanation ultimately involves a judgment of value; and sin as an immediate experience has neither direct value nor guarantee of cosmic permanence. Sin as a concept, of course, has instrumental value; but since the concept of sin is used only to annihilate the experience of sin, its explanation is temporal and contingent, not eternal and absolute. There is no one valid reason why men sin against God. They need not: indeed, they ought not. Nay more, the very nature of God as cosmic Good is a living declaration that sin is only a temporal derangement, incapable of working substantial havoc, and ever susceptible to cure. The divine spark in the heart of man is never wholly extinguished, repeatedly flares up into brilliance, and some day will flood the world with light. The Kingdom of God is not only locally immanent, but universally imminent; and sin may at any time, and from time to time, be exterminated.

Sin cannot be explained, but '*sins*' can. There is no universal reason why man should fall short of the glory of God; but there certainly are particular reasons why men at times do actually fall. If God is at once all-good and all-powerful, evil is not an eternal problem, but a problem which can be solved in time by the evangelical application of scientific method to individual sins and sinners. In sum, there is an artificial problem of Evil arising from defective philosophy, and a natural one arising from the practical failures of mankind. The solution of both is a life of union with *the God of creation, redemption, and control.*

The worship of *creation* alone leads to vicious antinominism; of *redemption* alone, to apathetic asceticism; of *control* alone, to drab secularism; all of which are unable to cope with evil. An adequate religion must comprise the *artistic* philosophy of creation, prominent in primitive thought and glorified by Bergson; the *mystical* philosophy of redemption, prevalent in medieval thought and grounded in Plotinus; and the *ethical* philosophy of control, carried direct from ancient to modern thought and crystallized in Dewey. All of these interpretations of Reality are vitalistic, and together depict God as the unlimited, undeterminate One, progressively expressing Himself in the limited, determinate Many. In creation, the One produces the Many; in redemption, He embraces them; in control He harmonizes them. If we seek a clear and simple illustration of God's solution of the problem of Evil, we cannot do better than to study the life of Jesus Christ, who so beautifully combines the activities of creation, redemption, and control; of prophet, priest, and king: and if we seek, furthermore, to solve the problem in its fulness, we cannot do better than to follow Him.

WENDELL M. THOMAS, JR

POEMS

I—In Light O' Dark.

[*Radha speaks*]

1

Of a' the hues the cloud can take,—
I dearly like the " black " :
Fo' Black's my Dark Sri-Krishna's hue,—
For Him I sough, a-lack!

The creepers frail,—
In glee-some hail,
The darken'd branches twine:
Of birds that sing,
In music's ring,—
The black delight min' eyne.

Ay, sweet's the hue,
The *Tamals* new
Put on in black sae fine:
Sae ilka morn,—
Let "Black" adorn
This lon'some bower mine.

2

Ah, Dark's the hue my mind be-decks,—
Let Dark,—the Clouds arise.
My fancies fine in sight of Dark,
A hundred sports devise!

Sad *Jumna* peers,
Thro' dark'ning tears,
In black her wave-lets shine :
I do not care,—
The day-light's glare ;
Sae "Dark,"—be ever mine!

Let Clouds above,—
Put on in love
The "Black" fo' which I pine
Sae ilka night,
My Heart's Delight
"In Light O' Dark" may shine.

II—Bind-wan's Breeze.

[*Krishna speaks* [1]]

1

Of a' the airts the wind can blaw,
I dearly love Bind-wan's :
Fo' there my bonnie Radha dwells,—
The breeze a-minds perchance.

The green trees grow,
An' cow-herds mow,
On mony a lawn between :
How day an' night,—
My fancy's flight
Sae holds her 'fore mine e'en !

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[1] Following the ring of Burns's "I love my Jean."

2

Fo' in the morning's dew-y bow'rs,
I dream her fresh an' fair :
An' in the dancin' tuneful birds,
I feel her thrill the air.

Ilk bird that sings,—
Ilk flow'r that springs.—
It ca's her o'er the green :
Could "Bind-wan's breeze"
Her odour seize
An' bring her, fore mine e'en ?

SURES C. GHATAK

BRAHMINISM IN THE "SMRITIS"

IV.

One thing ought to be grasped firmly before we preceed. The rate of progress increases with the distance travelled in a very striking ratio. Let us take the comforts and ease at the beginning of the Christian era. Let us take a stand after that at the end of the Middle Ages. From chariots and bows, helmets and armour, fears at the oarcles and astrologers, Druids, monks and priests, we see an age of printing and press, gunpowder and Americas dawning. Let us then stand at the Industrial Revolution; locomotives and steam-boats, presses and mills, what wonders they were then. And let us awaken to our own age, the cinema, the wireless, the phonograph, the dreadnaughts, submarines, aeroplanes, tanks, bombs and the whole magnificence splendours and terrors of the twentieth century. None can avoid being struck by the rate at which we have travelled. There was not much difference between prehistoric man and the Roman and Greek, Aryan and Persian barbarians, there was not much difference between the medieval man and the man at the beginning of the Christian era ; but what a difference is there between one of the sixteenth century and one of the eighteenth, between one of the eighteenth and one of the nineteenth, between one of the nineteenth and one of the twentieth. The most bewildering transformations have occurred during the intervening bits of centuries and man has travelled and landed on progress altogether out of all proportion to his antecedents. This phenomenon is out of all proportion to our glories but five hundred years back. The velocity of progress has gathered tremendous momentum as it coursed on through the centuries of our era. What took mankind a century to learn, it is now a matter of a decade. Is it not a matter of utmost hope to us? It is, indeed, very painful and hard business to save a few pounds—most painful savings of farthings and pennies—; but once you save a hundred pounds you can jump up to your thousands. From hundred to thousands is yet a painful process and progress is yet slow. But once you accumulate a million, the piling up of millions is as light a job as smoking your cigarette and is accomplished in that much time which you take to smoke it off. The giant strides we are travelling with ought not to blind us to the fact that mankind was not at a standstill throughout the long ages, nor should the slow-paced march of the ancients blind us to the possibilities of marching in giant strides.

Prof. McDougall also admits that there is a horrible leakage of these innate qualities, for, he says, that as civilization advances, "it tends to impair these qualities." History is replete with instances of these wreckages of civilized peoples. At Babylon, in Egypt, in Greece and in Rome are found total ruins of the highest civilizations. China, India and Persia are even such lands where the old fire has burnt out to ashes. And one fact is very significant. It takes pretty long for any people to ascend to the highest pinnacle of their glory and prosperity, but when the downward plunge begins, the progress is horribly rapid and the whole edifice goes to rack and ruin in a twinkling of the eye. One wonders where the innate qualities, the good qualities which sustained the civilization, go. Where does the leakage of innate qualities stored up by centuries of painful effort go? If additions to the original fund of these innate qualities are so slight during these 2,500 years of our historic existence as to make slightly any appreciable difference, must also the leakage of these inherited good qualities not be at that slow rate? We ought then to be not appreciably worse than our forefathers of 2,500 years ago. And if by innate qualities are meant those qualities of heart and brain which help us to achieve our prosperity and success, how can our prosperity and success be said to impair those qualities? A sharp blade is sharper the more it is used and would rust were it out of use. But the facts of history show that with prosperity and plenty, the good qualities which are required to bear it, are impaired and are impaired so rapidly that what required generations to build up is destroyed by a few—only two or three—generations and what required a generation to produce is destroyed by an individual in a single year. This horrible leakage of good qualities cannot be said to be the leakage of the innate qualities; because, as Prof. McDougall says, we are neither much better nor worse than what we were 2,500 years ago.

The answer to these problems can be more easily given if we hold that our advance in civilization is wholly due to our advance in our social heritage. Whatever the original fund of innate qualities with which we come into the world, we can add to it immensely by imbibing our social heritage. We have seen that this capacity of imbibing our social heritage is increasing at an immense pace as we advance. We can now acquire knowledge, which required centuries of human effort, in about as many years. Our facilities of acquiring knowledge are increasing beyond the imagination of our forefathers. And it is due to this social heritage that our astounding advances in civilization have been made during the last two centuries. And it is this social heritage the want of which will pull us down in no time. As man becomes prosperous and happy, every incentive to imbibe this social heritage goes away. He can roll in riches and plenty and why would he trouble to acquaint himself with this social heritage. And when he does not do that, he plunges headlong into a carouse of the senses, mere enjoyment and pleasure. With no beacon lights of age-long wisdom to warn him off, he lapses into the animal that he was 2,500 years ago and down he goes in a terrific crash in the twinkling of an eye. It is thus to this social heritage which is outside our being and constitution, that our rapid rise or rapider fall is due. The slender fund of innate qualities do not matter in the least degree.

Graham Wallas says that:

> "Our instincts are impulses towards definite acts or series of acts independent of any conscious anticipation of their probable effects."

He says further:

> "The connection between means and ends which they exhibit is the result not of any contrivance by the actor but of the survival in the past of the fittest of many varying tendencies to act. Impulse has an evolutionary history of its own earlier than the history of those intellectual processes by which it is often directed and modified. Our inherited organisation inclines us to react in certain ways to certain stimuli, because such reactions have been useful in the past in preserving our species." (*Human Nature in Politics.*)

Dr. Jung says:

> "Each of us inherits 'the collective unconscious,' a part of the mind which manifests itself most clearly in dreams and in states of mental disorders but which colours and biasses all our thinking. The collective 'unconscious' reveals itself chiefly in certain 'archetypes,' ideas which have a wide symbolical function, images which stand for or symbolize certain universally recurring problems of human life."

These reflections of Western scholars certainly point towards immortality of the soul or mind and a cycle of previous births. These things cannot be, unless this existence of ours has been preceded by previous births and existences. Whenever we learn wisdom by actual experience, we react in certain definite ways to certain stimuli because so we have benefited at that time of our first experience of the phenomenon, but we act only half-consciously. This we can see for ourselves in this very life. If once in our life we have been saved by acting in a certain way, next time in our life, if that same contingency occurs, we subconsciously react in the same way. Now our instincts are like these sub-conscious reactions and they point to our experiences in some past existences. They are only half-conscious reactions because they have been once tried and found effective and our intellect is not on the alert but sleeps on, sure of success.

But in knowledge acquired by actual experience, there is one defect. No two cases are exactly similar. What served our purpose once may not exactly serve our purpose again. And yet we are very likely to be deceived into false reactions. "The instinct persists when it is obviously useless and even when it is known to be dangerous." (*Graham Wallas.*) It is exactly here that man's wisdom lies. He must be wide awake and on the alert and take action in full consciousness. And if he does that, he will react in proper way, for, the same writer says, "they (impulses) are increasingly modified by memory and habit and thought." And in order to be able to guide himself correctly, he must acquaint himself with the whole of the existent case-law on the subject. He must consult his own impulses as they are the result of his past experience, he must watch his own experience in this life, he must read and learn about the experience of others who have preceded him and have left a record of their rich and varied experience and who are even now his fellow-pilgrims. Thus shall he enrich his knowledge of facts, thus shall he be enabled to draw general inferences and thus shall he be enabled to predict the probable results of actions and to guide and conduct himself and others along the safest, easiest and surest path to happiness and prosperity. It is thus that men prosper.

There is a positive correlation between intelligence and the possession of better moral qualities and of considerable degree. (*Prof. Terman.*) Rules of morality are only those rules which men have found out to be conducive to our well-being in the long run; and "the history of human progress," as Graham Wallas says, "consists in the gradual and partial substitution of science for art, of the power over nature acquired in youth by study, for that which comes in late middle age as the half conscious result of experience."

Everything then which facilitates the acquirement of this social heritage is a factor of value. Prof. Carver says:

> "In almost every age the family builders have ruled the spawners. They in whom the instinct for family building is strong, who habitually look beyond their individual lives, who are willing to sacrifice present gratification in the interest of the remote future, not simply the future of their own individual lives, but the future of their families, grow in prosperity, power and influence generation after generation. They who live in the present generation alone have no such cumulative advantage and are gradually out-distanced." ("*Essays in Social Justice.*")

So also the author of the "Outlines of Sociology" have observed:

> "The art of living together profitably and harmoniously has its foundation in the love sentiment brought about by family unity. Within it people are trained for the larger social life. Not only are they schooled in the art of producing wealth and trained in the rights of property, but also in the duties and privileges of individuals in association. Here they receive the elements of religious training, for it is in the home that the beginnings of all forms of culture appear." (*Blackmar and Gillin.*)

It is thus largely due to the schooling in the family that similarities of qualities appear between the parents and their offspring.

The modern Eugenists appear to assume that the innate qualities are poured into the progeny as a liquid is, from one vessel into another. There is no positive proof for this except the fact that similar qualities are observed by them to exist in the parents and their offspring. There is some warrant for supposing that these similarities are likely to be the result of the early schooling in the family which the children undergo. Children go to school almost at the age of about eight and our eugenists compare results obtained by about as many years of schooling. They disregard the effects of the first eight years of training which the children undergo under their parents. Their faculties are already warped and twisted before they begin regular school and it is as difficult to unlearn as to learn. So such comparisons will not prove anything beyond the effect of schooling. Then our qualities can be so immeasurably increased or diminished in one life-time that it is difficult to believe that there is no change and when change is the result of outside agencies, it is difficult to believe that those qualities have been poured into the progeny by their parents. Then we find also dissimilarities of qualities of parents and their children which can safely be imputed to the social environment. If after all, there is a residuum of innate qualities, we can very reasonably hold that that residuum is the result of experience and knowledge of that individual in his innumerable past existences. It may be that individuals desire to take birth in a soil of similar qualities and are born actually of similar parents, but the qualities are not poured ready-made into the progeny, but are the result of the individuals' past experience. This is the Indian theory of inheritance and it is submitted that it appears more reasonable and explains more facts than the western theory.

VII.—Social Heritage Theory.

The Smritis have recognized the value of this social heritage and they lay a very significant emphasis on this social evolution. Vasistha says:—

> " They quote the following example:—Indeed the virile energy of a man, learned in spiritual science, is of two sorts, that which is above the navel and the other such is situated below, through that which is above the navel his offsring is produced when he invests one with the sacred thread and makes him holy. By that which resides below the navel, the children of his body are produced on their mother. Therefore they should never say to a shrotriya, who teaches the Veda, " Thou art destitute of a son. Three castes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas are called the twice-born. Their first birth is from their mother and the second from the investiture with the sacred girdle. There (*i.e.*, in the second birth) Savitri is the mother and the preceptor is said to be the father. They

call the preceptor father because he gives instruction in the Veda." (*Vasista Samhita, ch. 2, Dutt's Trans.*)

Similar remarks are made by Shankha. (Shankha Samhita, Ch. I, 6·7, Dutt's Trans.) Apastamba says :—

" For he (Acharya) causes him (the pupil) to be born a second time by imparting to him sacred learning. This second birth is best. The father and the mother produce the body only." (*Apastamba 1.1—1. 16-18. S.B E.*)

Manu says :—

" Of him who gives natural birth and him who gives the knowledge of the Veda, the giver of the Veda is the more venerable father ; for the birth for the sake of the Veda ensures eternal rewards, both in this life and after death. Let him consider that he received a mere animal existence, when his parents begat him through mutual affection, and when he was born from the womb of his mother. But that birth which a teacher acquainted with the whole Veda, in accordance with the law, procures for him through the Savitri, is real, exempt from age and death. That Brahman who is the giver of the birth for the sake of the Veda and the teacher of the prescribed duties becomes by law the father of an aged man, even though he himself be a child. Young Kavi, the son of Angiras, taught his relatives, who were old enough to be fathers, and, as he excelled them in sacred knowledge, he called them, 'Little sons.' They, moved with resentment, asked the Gods concerning that matter, and the gods, having assembled, answered, 'the child has addressed you properly.' 'For a man destitute of sacred knowledge is, indeed, a child and he who teaches him the Veda is his father ; for the sages have always said "child" to an ignorant man, and "father" to a teacher of the Veda.' Neither through years, nor through white hairs, nor through wealth, nor through powerful kinsmen comes greatness. The sages have made this law 'he who has learnt the Veda together with the Angas is considered great by us. The seniority of Brahmanas is from sacred knowledge, that of Kshatriyas from valour, that of Vaishyas from wealth in grain and other goods, but that of Shudras alone from age. A man is not, therefore, considered venerable because his head is grey; him who, though young, has learned the Veda, the gods consider to be venerable." (*Manu, Ch. 2-146-148, 150-156 S.B.E.*)

This schooling was ordered to begin at earliest from the 5th year of age to the latest at the 24th year of age. If it did not take place before this the persons of the Aryan fold were called 'Vrātyâs.' (*See Manu, Ch. 2·36-40, Vishnu, Ch. 27. 26-27 S.B.E., Sankha, Ch. 2·6-8, Dutt's Trans.*)

Apastamba has very strong words against the uninitiated. Says he :—

> " He whose father and grandfather have not been initiated and his two ancestors are called slayers of the Brahman. Intercourse, eating, and intermarriage with them should be avoided. But those whose great-grandfather's, grandfather's and father's initiation is not remembered, are called burial, grounds.' " (*Apastamba 1·1·1· 32, 33, 1·1·2·5. S.B.E.*)

Apastamba prescribes very difficult penances for washing away the guilt of non-initiation.

The Rishis made no difference between a Shudra and the uninitiated Aryan. Shankha says :—

> Until the commencement of his study of the Vedas, a Brahman continues in the status of a Shudra, he becomes twice-born after that." (*Ch. 1·8, Dutt's. Trans.*)
>
> " His conduct shall be known as equal to that of a Shudra before his new birth from the Veda." (*Havila quoted in Vasisth-Samhita, Ch. 2, Dutt's Trans.*)

The most important condition laid down was that a person could not marry and enter the stage of a house-holder until and unless he finished his studentship. A student had to spend from forty-eight years to twelve years in study, and then to obtain the permission of his teacher to return home and then take the bath and come out a Snatak (*Manu, Ch. 3. 1-4.* S.*B.E.*). What a true idea of education and the reponsibilities of the order of a house-holder our people had then ! In these and in every other country there was no such condition laid so far as I know. The responsibilities of a father are so great that a certificate of competency is not only a desideratum but an absolute necessity. Our Rishis are to be literally followed in their insistence on a life of study and training preceding the life of a house-holder.

It is considered that everybody has a birthright to assume to bring into the world a litter of children. The mere fact that one has grown even like a tree to adult age is considered sufficient to entitle a man to assume the responsibilities of marriage. In no other profession in this world, does a man aspire to take the lead without having a certificate of competency. A surgeon tears open his patient at his peril if he is not certified competent and would be hanged for manslaughter, none is entrusted with a ship unless thoroughly grounded in the art of navigation, ah, one is required to show a certificate to be allowed to drive a hackney carriage in the busy streets of the cities. In the direction of state affairs, formerly, there were restrictions, ensuring competency in the voters. Property qualifications, educational qualifications and family qualifications counted for much. Now the votes are counted per capita. Every blockhead is entitled to have his say in the administration of state affairs. It is the inevitable reaction when votes were restricted to hereditary fools and knaves. But saner philosophy will come back to the rules laying emphasis on competency before capacity is conferred. So also in the matter of marriage. Formerly in some countries there were certain restrictions on a person's capacity to marry. He was required to have a separate roof showing his competency and he had to settle a sum on the bride. All those salutary restrictions are now swept off, leaving the work of propagation of species to all worthless hands. Of all affairs this is the most sacred and we owe it to the unborn millions that we lay down terms. This phase is attracting the attention of the western Sociologists and it is very gratifying to note that our Smritis lay down an educational test.

The Smritis also recognize that elevation from a lower caste to a higher caste can occur. Yajnavalkya says:

> "Elevation of caste occurs in the fifth or seventh generation, degradation of caste likewise occurs by following lower pursuits." (*Acharadhyaya*, 5.96.)

The commentator of the Mitakshara says that if a Brahmin married a Shudra woman and begot a daughter, and if this daughter again married a Brahman and a daughter was begotten and if this daughter married a Brahman, and if thus the fifth or seventh generation is reached, the child is a Brahman. So on he explains of other castes. He also says that if a Brahman lives by the occupations of a Shudra and begets a son, who also lives likewise, then also in the fifth or seventh generation, the Brahman become a Shudra. Thus one is considered capable of losing his caste by following pursuits of the lower castes. One is also enabled to rise unto a higher caste if successively wedded to higher castes. There is always an insistence on males of higher castes uniting with females of mixed lower castes; for the males embody the seed or what may better be said the culture and learning of the higher plane of existence. Manu also says:

> "If a female of the caste sprung from a Brahman and a Shudra-female, bear children to one of the highest caste, the inferior tribe attains hte highest caste within the seventh generation. Thus a Shudra attains the rank of a Brahman and in a similar manner a Brahman sinks to the level of a Shudra; but know that it is the same with the offspring of a Kshatriya or of a Vaishya." (*Manu, Ch. 10. 64-65, S.B.E.*)

It is significant that to obtain elevation of caste, breeding by better seed is insisted upon, while to be degraded, it is only the doing of acts and leading the life of the lower castes. Birth is the road to ascent and mode of life that to descent. But Apastamba makes no such distinction. He says:

> "In successive births men of the lower castes are born in the next higher one, if they have fulfilled their duties. In successive births men of the higher castes are born in the next lower one, if they neglect their duties." (*Apastamba*, 2.5.11.10-11.)

So also says Gautam. (*See Ch. 4. 22-24. S. B. E.*) The father embodies the learning and culture of the caste and the children brought up by him imbibe the higher culture. It is this which elevates, it is this which is metaphorically put by saying that the seed is superior to the soil. And imbibing higher culture and handing it on to successive generations, the level of the full Brahmin is reached in the seventh generation. The fall is of course due to one's mode of livelihood and keeping up the level of one's own culture being impossible thereby. The fall or rise, thus, is due solely through want of culture or acquirement of higher culture. The theory of heredity yet underlies this thought but the true principle is being grasped and enunciated with more or less emphasis; until at last we come to that phase of thought which says that elevation or degradation of caste is one's own doing and that it takes place not necessarily in the fifth or seventh generation but in one's own life. To attain this elevation in a lifetime is, indeed, the fortune of a few but the possibility of such gifted souls was recognized. Apastamba says :

> "But even though some ascetic, whilst still in the body, may gain heaven through a portion of the merit acquired by his former works or through austerities and though he may accomplish his objects by his mere wish, still this is no reason to place one order before the other." *(2. 9.24.14. S.B.E.)*

The efficacy of austerities was recognized and as it was not possible to the general run of mankind, it was ruled as an exception.

Manu put it quite plainly. He says :

> "For in the next world neither father, nor mother, nor wife, nor sons, nor relations stay to be his companions; spiritual merit alone remains with him. Single is each being born, single it dies, single it enjoys the reward of its virtue, single it suffers the punishment of its sins. Leaving the dead body on the ground like a log of wood, or a clod of earth, the relatives depart with averted faces; but spiritual merit follows this soul. Let him, therefore, always slowly accumulate spiritual merit, in order that it may be his companion after death; for with merit as his companion he will traverse a gloom difficult to traverse. That companion speedily conducts the man, who is devoted to duty and effeces his sins by austerities, to the next world radiant and clothed with an ethereal body." *(Ch. 4. 239-243, S.B.E.)*

Sankha says:

> "He whose charioteer is true knowledge and who drives this chariot of the body by taking hold of the reins of mind, alone reaches the goal of his journey and attains that supreme self of Vishnu." (*Ch. 7. 30, Dutt's Trans.*)

The doctrine that one's salvation lies in one's own hand, that our ability to practise austerities and acquire learning is conditioned by our own efforts in former lives and in the present, and that we can make or mar our fortunes, is evolved in its full significance. No principle of heredity in the sense that our parents pour their good qualities into us, is here recognized. Each case stands or falls on its own merit. "Single is each being born, single it dies, single it enjoys, single it suffers." None can put this theory better and in less words. "He whose charioteer is knowledge" and who drives the chariot of the body by taking hold of the reins of mind wins. What can be better put in words?

The modern doctrine of heredity has its subtle charm to not a few of us simply because we are enabled to attribute our failings and sins to our forefathers. The mere fact that they are not our own doings relieves us of our responsibilities and we drift down the inevitable fatality in a resigned spirit consoling ourselves that the sins of our progenitors are being visited on our heads. We are not so keen to mend ourselves, because we can justify our evil deeds by attributing them to our parents and enjoy their apparent rewards for ourselves, hoping to hand over the fatal heritage and its sting to our offspring and to ascend to heaven pure as crystal. The moment it is known that it is no such thing, but the result of our own evil ways, in former lives or even in this, that our very birth is the result of our own misdeeds, the sense of responsibility is awakened and men are rudely roused to bestir themselves and practise the difficult rites of social evolution. This fatality of inherited degeneration hung over men in India, but Apastamba put it straight. Says he;

> "On account of that transgression of the rules of studentship, no Rishis are born amongst the men of later ages. But some in their new birth, on account of a residue of the merit acquired by their actions in former lives, become similar to Rishis by their knowledge of the Veda like Swet Ketu." *(1. 2. 5. 4-6, S.B.E.)*

As a legitimate corollary of the proposition that we inherit the sins of our forefathers, was evolved the doctrine that the sinful career of the offspring dragged down the ancestors living in heaven. This was, indeed, not so bad a doctrine in as much as, though false, the fiction was a good terror to people and kept them on the path of virtue, for though a man would not mind going to hell for his own self, he minds it very much, indeed, when it involves the dragging down of so many ascending generations along with him. The last solace of a sinful career that he was born of noble parentage is cut off from under his feet. Our Smritis have elaborated the point and give us exact calculations and say that a particular sin drags down a particular number of ancestors. But it was known to be a fiction and held up only as a salutary check and terror before the eyes of the ignorant. It is a very important thing to note how our Smritis hold this theory up and give up the theory of inheritance from our ancestors and lay emphasis on one's own virtue. The latter leaves a door to justify our failings by saying "if I err, I err in good company;" the former rather urges us on to good acts, not only through fear of dragging down our ancestors but also through hope of redeeming by our austerities the whole line of ancestors. Apastamba says :

> "Those among these sons who commit sin perish alone, just as the leaf of a tree which has been attacked by worms falls without injuring its branch or tree. They do not hurt their ancestors, for the ancestors have no connection with the acts committed by their descendants in this world, nor with their results in the next" *(2-9-24 9-10—S. B. E.)*.

And even then, the one fiction is held up before men's eyes and the other is given up. There is a significance in this attitude of the wise, who have knocked out bad fictions and held up good ones simply with a view to urge men on to good actions and righteousness.

The progress of mankind is due as much to finding out of truth as to holding up salutary Falsehood. Our frail craft is moved safely on this ocean of life with the dead-weight of these fictions and we can set sail with the wind of knowledge.

If we look at the whole theory of transmigration of soul from this point of view, the wilderness of fanciful elaboration of the same in the Smritis will be excused. The theory is disgustingly detailed in the Smritis and one wonders whether to laugh at the lurid delusion or to weep at the pitiable folly exhibited. Manu's list will serve as a type of others. He says:

> "A man who has stolen gems, pearls or coral is born among the goldsmiths, for stealing grain a man becomes a rat, for stealing honey, a stinging insect, for stealing meat, a vulture; for stealing fruit and roots, a monkey; for stealing vehicles, a camel; and for those who eat forbidden food, worms" (*Ch. 12. 59-67. S. B. E.*).

There is some reasonableness in this list since the sinful tendencies are exactly found in the prophetic incarnations of goldsmiths, vultures and rats. And one can very well imagine the terror of being a camel—that beast of burden—for stealing a vehicle. But there is visible no trace of any reason in the remaining list except that the transmigration is horrible to imagine. Manu says a man will be born a crow, for stealing milk; a dog, for stealing condiments; a cormorant, for stealing fat, a cricket, for stealing salt; a porcupine, for stealing cooked food; and a hedgehog, for theft of uncooked food (*ibid*). Every *Smriti* teems with such lists with horrifying minuteness, so much so that even being devoured by a tiger or wolf is taken as sin to be expiated by proper penances. Such thoughts occur in the Smritis mixed up with noblest flights of high and sound philosophy and we cannot explain these depths and heights unless we understand that the Rishis purposely revelled in these wild things for restraining evil-minded persons. Where cajoling fails, reasoning has no effect, terrors of faith and superstition hold them fast.

(*Concluded.*)

D. R. VAIDYA.

DISCOURAGEMENT

My soul into a prison house has gone,
My Self wears a mask, all semblanoe of "Me" is lost.
There is none to know me as I Am.
So cloaks discouragement the frail-like man.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

THE STATUS OF THE INDIAN PRINCES

Among the sentimental Indian politicians and persons interested in currying favour with the Indian Princes, there is much talk about "the Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes." Some Indian lawyers even advocate that Indian (Native) States should have the right to enter the League of Nations on an equal footing with India. These gentlemen are either living in the Middle Ages, so far as the conception of sovereign rights are concerned, which is nothing short of absolutism, or they are catering to the rights of Indian Princes, rather than looking forward towards a United India without seven hundred or more princelings or landed barons, acting as impediments in the way of effective Indian national unity.

One of the outstanding achievements of Earl Reading's administration of India has been the shattering of the myth of the Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes in a very spectacular manner. Among other things he deposed the Maharaja of Nabha and the Maharaja of Indore for their actual or supposed misconduct, and reduced His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, to the status of a landed baron, enjoying less rights, in matters of succession than what an Indian Corporation like Tata and Company enjoys in disposing of its business and assets.

It will be very worthwhile for Indian statesmen to carefully study the interesting documents on the subject of the rights of Indian Princes recently published by the British Government. They deal with the claims of the Nizam of Hyderabad to the Restoration of the Province of Berar. Two of these documents are British Command Papers No. 2439 and No. 2621 published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, and the third document which is classed as a "state paper of first class importance" is the reply of Earl Reading to

His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad who made a proposal to the Government of India for the submission of the question of restoration of Berar to a Commission of inquiry and report, presided over by a British gentleman of high standing and judicial experience, and composed of six other members, two chosen by the Government of India, two by the Nizam and two representatives of the people of Berar. I quote in full the clear statement of the position of the Government of India and the British Cabinet as given out by Earl Reading's letter of March 27, 1926, to the Nizam :—

Your Exalted Highness,—Your Exalted Highness's letter of September 20, 1925, which has already been acknowledged, raises questions of importance, and I have therefore taken time to consider my reply.

I do not propose to follow your Exalted Highness into a discussion of the historical details of the case. As I informed you in my previous letter, your representations have been carefully examined, and there is nothing in what you now say which appears to affect the conclusions arrived at by me and my Government and by the Secretary of State. Your Exalted Highness's reply is not in all respects a correct presentation of the position as stated in my letter of March 11 last, but I am glad to observe that, in your latest communication, you disclaim any intention of casting imputations on my distinguished predecessor the late Marquess Curzon.

I shall devote the remainder of this letter to the claim made by your Exalted Highness in the second and third paragraphs of your letter and to your request for the appointment of a Commission.

2. In the paragraphs which I have mentioned you state and develop the position that, in respect of the internal affairs of Hyderabad, you, as Ruler of the Hyderabad State, stand on the same footing as the British Government in India in respect of the internal affairs of British India. Lest I should be thought to overstate your claims, I quote your Exalted Highness's own words: "Save and except matters relating to Foreign Powers and policies, the Nizams of Hyderabad have been independent in the internal affairs of their State, just as much as the British Government in British India. With the reservation mentioned by me, the two parties have on all occasions acted with complete freedom and independence in all

inter-Governmental questions that naturally arise from time to time between neighbours. Now, the Berar question is not and cannot be covered by that reservation. No Foreign Power or policy is concerned or involved in its examination, and thus the ubject comes to be a controversy between two Governments that stand on the same plane without any limitations of subordination of one to the other."

3. These words would seem to indicate a misconception of your Exalted Highness's relation to the Paramount Power which it is incumbent on me as His Imperial Majesty's representative to remove, since my silence on such a subject now might hereafter be interpreted as acquiescence in the propositions which you have enunciated.

4. The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them, and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign Powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India. The consequences that follow are so well-known, and so clearly apply no less to your Exalted Highness than to other rulers, that it seems hardly necessary to point them out. But if illustrations are necessary, I would remind your Exalted Highness that the Ruler of Hyderabad, along with other rulers, received in 1862 a *Sanad* declaratory of the British Government's desire for the perpetuation of his House and Government, subject to continued loyalty to the Crown; that no succession to the *Masnad* of Hyderabad is valid unless it is recognised by His Majesty the King-Emperor; and that the British Government is the only arbiter in cases of disputed succession.

5. The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown. The British Government have indeed shown again and again that they have no desire to exercise the right without grave reason. But the internal, no less than the external, security which the Ruling Princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where imperial intersts are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the paramount Power that the ultimate responsiblity for taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the

rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the paramount Power of this responsibility. Other illustrations could be added, no less inconsistent than the foregoing, with the suggestion that, except in matters relating to foreign Powers and policies, the Government of your Exalted Highness and the British Government stand on a plane of equality. But I do not think I need pursue the subject further. I will merely add that the title "Faithful Ally" which your Exalted Highness enjoys has not the effect of putting your Government in a category separate from that of other States under the paramountcy of the British Crown.

6. In pursuance of your present conception of the relations between Hyderabad and the paramount Power, you further urge that I have misdescribed the conclusion at which His Majesty's Government have arrived as a "decision," and that the doctrine of *res judicata* has been misapplied to matters in controversy between Hyderabad and the Government of India.

7. I regret that I cannot accept your Exalted Highness's view that the orders of the Secretary of State on your representation do not amount to a decision. It is the right and privilege of the paramount Power to decide all disputes that may arise between states, or between one of the States and itself, and even though a Court of arbitration may be appointed in certain cases, its function is merely to offer independent advice to the Government of India, with whom the decision rests. I need not remind you that this position has been accepted by the general body of Indian rulers as a result of their deliberations in paragraph 308 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. As regards the use of the term *res judicata*, I am, of course, aware that the Government of India is not, like a Civil Court, precluded from taking cognizance of a matter which has already formed the subject of a decision, but the legal principle of *res judicata* is based on sound practical considerations, and it is obviously undesirable that a matter which has once been decided should form the subject of repeated controversies between the same parties.

8. I now pass on to consider your request for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the Berar case and submit a report. As your Exalted Highness is aware, the Government of India not long ago made definite provision for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration in cases where a State is dissatisfied with a ruling given by the Government of India. If, however, you will refer to the document embodying the new arrangement, you will find that there is no provision for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration in any case which has been decided by His Majesty's

Government, and I cannot conceive that a case like the present one, where a long controversy has been terminated by an agreement executed after full consideration and couched in terms which are free from ambiguity, would be a suitable one for submission to arbitration.

9. In accordance with your Exalted Highness's request, your present letter has been submitted to His Majesty's Secretary of State, and this letter of mine in reply carries with it his authority as well as that of the Government of India.

Commenting editorially on the above document, the *Times* (London) of April 3, 1926, says :—

" In his recent letter to His Exalted Highness, the Nizam...he (Earl Reading) has emphasized the supremacy of the sovereignty of the British Crown over the degrees of internal sovereignty enjoyed by the ruling Princes with a legal clarity and with a firmness that should make future misunderstanding impossible."

Earl Reading's acts of interference in the internal affairs of the Indian States are much resented by Indian politicians. Some of these politicians think of the future of India as the Federation of the United States of India, with some of the Indian States as provinces; they think of the federation of German States under Kings, Princes and free cities as their model. Others think of a United India after the model of the United Italy under a constitutional monarch. Still others think of the future of India as the Republic of the United States of India within or without the British Empire. Under any of these three schemes there is no room for Indian Princes enjoying full Sovereign Rights. The Indian Princes will have to assume subordinate position to the supreme authority of the State of the United States of India. To have a Kaiser or a King to whom all Indian Princes and people will pay homage is not within the domain of practical politics (even if it is rumoured that the Nizam of Hyderabad entertain such an ambition), because neither the people of the provinces of the present British India nor the important Indian Princes will ever submit to the authority of any Indian Prince. There is also no possibility for any Indian Prince to play the role of a Victor Emmanuel for a United India. In the future United States of India, there will be no room for independent Indian Princes, because they will become factors of internal and external discord, as was the case in the eighteenth and nineteenth century India. Let us not forget that Indian Princes in their Civil Wars, gave splendid opportunity to foreign powers to establish their domain in India.

To-day Indian Princes have no Sovereign Rights, and the subjects of Indian Princes in general enjoy less constitutional rights—freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assembly—than those of British India. For instance, the Nizam, in his absolutism, has forbidden many Indian papers from entering into his State, although these very papers are in circulation all over British India. The future of India does not depend much upon the Indian Princes, although an enlightened Prince like the Maharaja of Mysore can do a great deal to stimulate progress among his subjects. If the Indian Princes can act as *Indians first and Princes afterwards* and thus spend their inherited (not earned) fortune and energy to the promotion of the welfare of the people of India in general, then they may, because of their service and efficiency, have the supreme privilege of serving as the leaders of the Indian nation in various capacities, at home and abroad.

There cannot be any divided sovereignty and loyalty within one state. *The United States of India within or without the British Empire will undoubtedly be the paramount power in India and the Indian Princes will have to play the role of its citizens.* The future of Indian princes does not lie in fostering the myth of "Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes" but furthering the cause of Indian unity, by giving up their special privileges which are archaic and have no place in the evolution of the United States of India, by introducing all kinds of political, economic and social reforms within their states and by championing the aspiration of the Indian people to create the United States of India enjoying full Sovereign Rights and equal status among all the important powers of the world.

Earl Reading's action towards the Indian Princes, particularly to His Exalted Highness's claim of a special position may have been a very rude shock to the Indian Princes and some of the Indian politicians, but it is safe to assert that the Ex-Viceroy of India has done a signal service to the Indian Princes and the Indian people by clearing up the misconception about the present and future status of the Indian Princes within the Commonwealth of the United States of India.[1]

TARAKNATH DAS

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[1] For further discussion on the subject see "Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes" by Dr. Tarakath Das, published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, India.

ARRIVAL OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS AT SURAT

Preparations for his journey to the Mogul's Court.

On Christmas Day, 1700, Sir William Norris disembarked from the *Sommers* and boarded the yacht near Umbra. He landed next day and was received in state by the Governor and his son. To them he shewed the King's Commission. The Governor having been desired by the Mogul to hasten the Ambassador's progress, "because he was very old and desirous to see me before he dyd," gave him a reception in his own house. The procession from Umbra to the city was imposing. There were men carrying different flags, among them the King's; state palanquin, gunmen, lancers, archers, trumpeters, bagpipes, kettledrum and hautboys. Behind all these came Mr. Hall bearing a naked sword point upwards, and following him were liveried servants on horseback. The sword of State was carried by Mr. Mill before the palanquins in which were the Governor and His Excellency the Ambassador. Thirty peons bearing lances and swords with scarlet scabbards marched on the left of Sir William's palanquin near which was carried a shield emblazoned with the King's Arms. There were also in attendance two chief peons, each carrying silver-gilt fanning feathers. Then came Sir Nicholas Waite in his palanquin followed by men with silver-lances and four "gentlemen" on horseback. Behind these came a state coach with the secretary to the Embassy who had charge of the box containing the King's Commission and his letter to the Emperor. Four other coaches followed.

At the Governor's house the party were seated in the following order:—In front, Sir Nicholas Waite, Sir William Norris, the Governor and his son; the Secretary, Mr. Harlewyn, Mr. Bonnel, Mr. Lock, Mr. Mill and Mr. Peirson of the staff on either side. When the formal visit was over Sir William with his train marched to the New Company's factory. On the way there was an accidental meeting with the great Codjee [Kazi] in his palanquin. This was a personage of so great consequence that the Emperor, his sons and other great men were accustomed to alight and wait deferentially till he had passed by. Sir William did not know of the custom, but probably even if he had known it he would not have considered it consistent with his ambassadorial dignity to observe it. He appears, however, to have felt that something was expected of him, so he ordered a member of the suite to convey a small present to the great man by way of atonement and civility.

At the factory Sir William was handsomely entertained by Sir Nicholas Waite. Here the Noqueda[1] called and informed him of many piracies which he alleged had been committed by Englishmen at Surat. He "seemed to fasten it on ye Old Company, but now hoped all would be amended." A declaration in Persian and English concerning the piracy was drawn up by the Governor and Sir William jointly. But the latter discovered a few days later that the Governor had offered a sum of Rs. 20,000 to prevent the complaint from being presented to the Mogul.

Sir William's pleasure at the pomp of his reception was greatly modified by a visit from the Consul and Mr. Bonnell on December 27th. They informed him that they had bribed the Governor, his son, and eunuch with Rs. 43,000 to accord him a fitting reception. To justify themselves they pleaded that the Old Company had tried with bribes to prevent any reception at all being given. They also informed him that the Old Company had been intriguing to induce one hundred peons to "relinquish" him half-way between Surat and Aurangabad. From Assed Khan he received a letter the same day to the effect that the *dusticks* for his safe conduct were now ready at Surat.

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[1] Commander-in-Chief of Mogul's men-of-war.

The plots of the Mogul's officers, the intrigues of the Old Company and the fear of further delay were alone enough to try Sir William's temper. But in addition there came a dispute with the French Commodore. This man was a nephew of Marshal de Turvile and had exchanged civilities with the Consul. Yet he had refused to lend some boats to the latter when he was going in to Swally because he had been informed by Sir John Gayer that King James had been restored to the throne. His action had prevented the Consul from receiving the Commodore, which of course would otherwise have been done. This particular dispute, however, could wait. Meanwhile, it was essential to impress the Mogul's representative at Surat. Accordingly, it was resolved that three members of the staff should attend at the public *Durbar* for the purpose of informing the Governor on behalf of the Ambassador that King William had commanded all the debts of the Old Company to be paid before September 29, 1701.

Another annoyance presented itself only two days after the landing. On the 28th December when the Ambassador received the Consul, the Council and several Turkish merchants, the last mentioned presented a claim for Rs. 1,400,000 (*sic*) which they said had been taken from their ships by three English vessels belonging to the Old Company. They had already applied to the Governor of Surat and even to the Mogul himself. Sir William replied that he had been sent by the King to settle the trade upon a "just and honourable foundation," and that four ships of war had been commissioned to destroy the pirates. The Turks complained that when the Mogul ordered the Old Company to give them satisfaction their goods were stopped at the Custom House by instructions from the Governor; and that Sir John Gayer had ordered the Old Company to capture some Moorish ships. An agreement had been made, however, between the Governor and the Old Company that the latter should release the ships and pay (the former) three lacs of rupees. The goods had been released, but not the ships. Sir William promised the complainers that justice should be done to them. The King's Commission was then read, all present standing.

At the close of the interview recorded above a private audience with the Ambassador was requested by the *Harcarra*, one of the Mogul's public officers. As the two were about to leave the tent he went in front but was promptly ordered to give precedence to the Ambassador. In no wise abashed by this snub he assured Sir William of his friendship for himself and the New Company, and they drank the health of the Mogul and King William. This trifling incident would seem to suggest a lack of the usual punctilious courtesies, that was not without its significance. Sir William, however, appears to have summed up the man pretty shrewdly, for he made him a present of spirits and recorded in the diary that "all these Moores are very fond of these spiritts and ye most acceptable present can be made."

The next day Sir John Gayer hoisted the Union flag when he received the *Meer* on the *Loyal Merchant*. This was contrary to Sir William's orders, and furnished another example of his determination to ignore the Embassy.

On the 30th the Ambassador received a visit from Mr. Pereira, a J w engaged in the diamond trade. He was accompanied by the Consul. Sir William asked him about the Mogul and was assured in reply that he would be received by the latter with great respect. The Jew further, speaking probably from his own experience, admonished Sir William

> " that no person whatsoever was ever suffered to sit down in his presence, not even his own sons......yt nothing in India but more especially att Court was to be done ...... without large summs of mony ... and next yt stronge spiritts wch all the Moores are fond of except ye Mogull who keepes strictly to his Religion and drinks none."

He also asserted that the Mogul would never take off the $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* custom from the English, as all the other nations would expect the same.

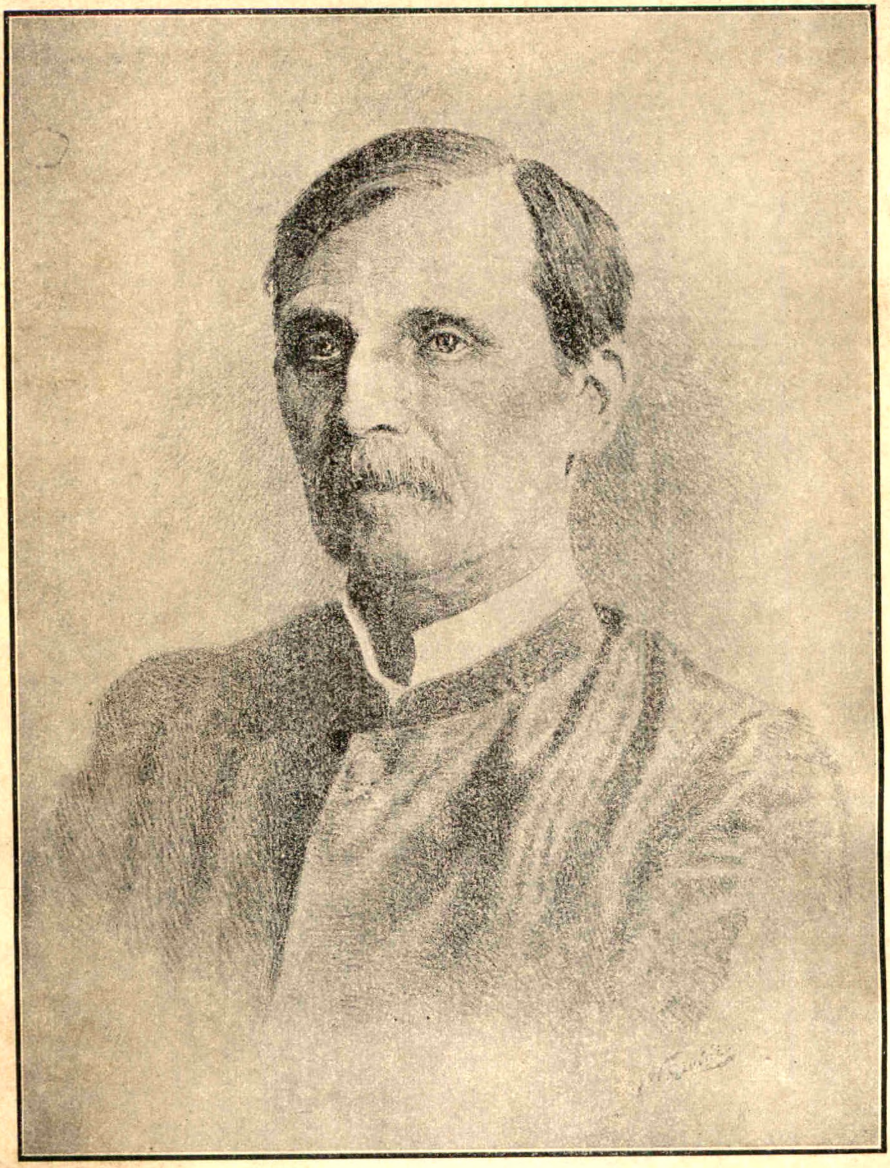
From Abdul Gaffore, the "chief Moore merchant" in Surat, who also visited him, Sir William drew more encouragement. Abdul reported of the Old Company that for their own advantage they had "prostituted both King and Country by all manner of villanys," but now that Sir William had arrived all were certain that justice would be done. He also warned Norris privately of the Old Company's spies. Having thus ingratiated himself, he complained that the Company had not only taken their ships and goods but had also killed many men who were on the ships: that no redress had been received from the Mogul whose orders had been evaded through bribes. Although the Ambassador promised to lay his case before the Emperor he came privately to the conclusion that Abdul Gaffore was "a subtle crafty Fellow" who in spite of his eighty years knew how to tell his story to the greatest advantage. In Sir William's opinion he was the most important merchant in Surat and perhaps "in ye world."

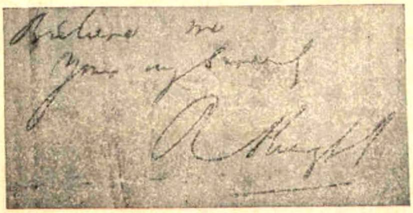
On the last day of the year Sir John Gayer's insubordination was brought to mind again when the Consul forwarded to the Ambassador a reply received from Gayer to the summons to be present at the reading of the King's commission. It was to the effect that he declined to appear.

In order to reward Captain Douglas for his great services in conveying the Ambassador and his retinue from Masulipatam to Surat as well as to compensate him for losses on cargo, Sir William presented him with Rs. 1,000 on January 1, 1700-01. The same day there was obtained a clue to Sir John Gayer's behaviour. It appeared that a secret interview between Gayer and the *Meer* had taken place at Swally, Gayer had told the latter that he believed Norris "was sent from ye New Companys Kinge who att present was in possession but ye true and Rightfull Kinge was in France who would certainly be Restored to his Crown and then this Company and all belongd to yt would cease.........and that they had an Embassadour cominge hither whom they daily expected sent by ye true Kinge who was in France whom they termd their Kinge." This statement was communicated by the *Meer* to the French Director who was asked if the New Company were the "Legal Settld" Company. The reply was the said Company was settled after the same manner as the French Company and that the Old Company was only composed of merchants with "no settlement." Further, that the stock of the Old Company was larger than that of the New.

The greater part of January was spent in preparation for the journey to Court. During this time Sir William took pains to interview persons able to give him information about the Mogul and his ministers, or otherwise help in preparing for his mission. There was a slight delay due to indisposition on his part. Sir William appears to have been favourably impressed by Mr. Pereira, and the two held important discussions regarding the approaching mission and the bad behaviour of the Old Company. Sir William undoubtedly felt the difficulty of his position both as an Englishman and as the chosen Ambassador of his Sovereign. The members of the Old Company had entirely ignored him and not one of them had attended the public reading of his Majesty's Commission. It apparently had occurred to him that Mr. Pereira might possibly act as mediator between himself and the Old Company. But the latter "could not devise how to bring it about." Perhaps his reluctance was due to some understanding with the Old Company and this view is supported by a suggestion on the part of Pereira to the effect that the Old Company should pay only 20 twenty lacs of their debt, whereas their obligation was to discharge the whole amount.

At a general council held in His Excellency's tent the question of a suitable person to accompany him to the Court was discussed. Rustomji, a Parsee, was unanimously chosen





Believe me
Yours very sincerely
R Knight

The Knight of the Indian Press :

ROBERT KNIGHT

[Born March 13, 1825. Died January 27, 1890.]

although it was felt that he could be ill spared from Surat. Incidentally it may be noted that a Parsee had never before been appointed as chief broker. Sir William was also informed that the Old Company would be sending agents to the Mogul's Camp to watch his proceedings.

Meanwhile fresh complications seemed to arise daily. Disturbing news arrived in a letter from Masulipatam dated January 3rd and sent by John Pitt and others. It told of the seizure by Captain Symonds, of the *Rooke* galley bound for China, of a "country ship of about 200 tons" commanded by Captain Baker on the way from Bombay to Surat. Symonds demanded Sir Nicholas Waite's pass from Baker and, as the latter could not produce it, killed him and twelve other Englishmen. This news was considered very serious since if it were true it could hardly fail to endanger the success of the Ambassador's mission. The story was afterwards contradicted in a letter sent from Masulipatam, dated February 25th, 1700.[1]

Another source of disquiet was a letter received on the 8th which stated that the Old Company was intriguing with Prince Osman Tarr either to cut off his retinue or plunder them *en route*. It was, therefore, decided to equip the mission with more field guns and English soldiers by way of precaution. Nevertheless doubts appear to have been felt as to whether the destination should ever actually be reached. But assuming that it would be, procedure had still to be settled. Accordingly, Sir William asked advice from the Council as to whether all the privileges which the Court of Directors wished him to sue for should be requested from the Mogul in one or those only which concerned the three factories.

On the 9th gifts were presented by the Ambassador to the Mogul's officers at Surat. The indefatigable Pereira brought him multifarious news. One item related to an enquiry held in England on behalf of both Companies into the price of diamonds brought there by ships of the Old Company. Another was about an estimate made at the same time of trade in the Dutch East Indies: this was valued at two millions sterling. There was also a story about an act of clemency on the part of the Mogul towards some pirates brought before him in chains whom he had ordered to be immediately released. Perhaps Sir William was over ready to listen to and be influenced by stories. For instance, about this time he heard that the *Meer* had stated that President Colt had said that the present King of England was a "madman and a fool," and that being in want of money he had first sold the trade of India to the New Company and then for more money restored it to the Old Company. The tale bore on its face proof that it was undeserving of attention, yet Sir William took the trouble to send a messenger to the *Meer* to ask if it was true. Later from another source he was informed that the *Meer* was a "great rogue," pretending to be on friendly terms with both parties and betraying each in turn.

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[1] See Addl. MS. 31,302, British Museum.

The Mogul's *dustick* for safe conduct to the Camp was received by Sir William from the Governor on the 10th January. On the 12th he learnt that Sir John Gayer had sent a signed paper to the Consul denying that Sir William was Ambassador from the King of England. Next day a reply was drawn up by the President in response to Sir William's request for definite instructions as to the privileges to be asked from the Emperor. In view of the fact that the Old Company's servants were combining to defeat the Ambassador's mission on behalf of the New Company he was advised to confine his demands for *phirmaunds* to the three factories only. These were to include the immunities usually enjoyed by Europeans. It was, however, pointed out that as regards Surat a *phirmaund* had already been granted at the request of Sir Nicholas Waite but, owing to the machinations of the Old Company, still remained unsealed. He was, therefore, advised to stipulate that this should be duly sealed when the other *phirmaunds* were granted. It being the Mogul's custom to consult the various Nabobs concerned before granting *phirmaunds*, if Sir William could be first assured of that for Surat it would be easier for him to obtain the other two. No doubt the Old Company would try to frustrate this plan—they had already placed, apparently for purposes of bribery, 50,000 rupees at Aurangabad and 15,000 at Court under the direction of "a Procurator of the Gentu." As to the money necessary for his journey the President and Council advised Sir William to obtain credit for such sums as he required ; this being necessary owing to the non-arrival of the *Albemarle*, which was bringing funds. They considered that His Excellency ought not to take less than 50,000 rupees "in specie and a credit for 100,000 in good bills," which would not include the payments due to his Indian servants and charges for the carts, etc.[1]

Immediately after he had a visit from Mr. Pereira who affected to believe that the Old Company were not endeavouring to embarrass the Embassy. There was a discussion as to why the French and Dutch Directors had not paid their respects and Pereira thought that the King as "Statholder of Holland" would resent the behaviour of the Dutchmen. In spite, however, of Pereira's opinions Sir William remained convinced that the Directors, both French and Dutch, were obstructing him in every possible way, and that his visitor was himself in league with the Dutch.

A Council was held on the 14th to discuss the procuring of *phirmaunds*, when it was decided that should the Emperor die before Sir William's arrival the latter should return to Surat. In view of the large sums of money already given to the Governor of Surat for acting on behalf of the New

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[1] Three days afterwards as the *Albemarle* had not yet arrived it was resolved to advance Rs. 10,000 immediately to Sir William for present expenses. *See Surat Factory Records, Vol. 6.*

Company, and similar amounts sent to Court by the Old Company to embarrass the Ambassador, Sir William foresaw that large sums would be necessary. He, therefore, asked advice as to the amount required for general purposes, and expressed the hope that, as he could not expend money without authority from the Council, full powers would be given him. It was finally decided to give His Excellency a "Letter of advice" for a sum not exceeding 200,000 rupees to be used for the general settlement of the Company.[1]

Sir William wrote to the Court of Directors from Surat on the 15th giving them a resumé of what had taken place on his arrival. He assured them that as everything was in readiness for his journey he would set out at once for the Mogul's camp but for delay caused by the "virulent and treasonable" practices of the Old Company as well as complaints received by him from eminent merchants about large debts owed them by the Old Company's servants.[2] He assured them, however, that he still hoped to be able to start on the 23rd.

Meanwhile he had not forgotten to take action against Mr. Colt for his treasonable language against the King, already recorded. A message to the Governor of Surat and the Mogul's Mootiseddy of the *Durbar*, demanded that Colt should be arrested and put into irons until the Mogul could be made acquainted with the facts. In reply Sir William was asked to make a written statement to be submitted to the next *Durbar*. Although the Consul and Council were opposed to it, he persisted in the demand saying that the King's honour was at stake, and the letter was delivered to the Governor at the *Durbar*. About the same time he was visited by a Franciscan friar who stated that the Mogul was at least ninety-three years old and that Sultan Akbar had left

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[1] *See* Surat Factory Records, Vol. 6.

[2] *See* Addl. MS. 31,302, British Museum.

Persia and was now at Ahmadavad ready to take the crown at his father's death. It was plain, therefore, that haste was necessary.

The Council on January 20, gave Sir William the authorisation he had asked for. After reiterating the points of Sir Nicholas Waite's letter of the previous week, they requested him, when he should have obtained the desired *phirmaund* and two copies under the seal of the Emperor's great Kazi, to send the original of the Surat one immediately to them at Surat. In consideration of the New Company's help in conveying the Surat ships to and from Mocha, they asked him on their behalf to express a wish for some freedom from the duties payable at that port. Further, they warned him that he would be expected to pay large sums not only to the great men at Court but even to the Emperor himself, whose long and tedious wars had exhausted his resources. They sanctioned the payment, at his discretion, of 200,000 rupees in this way, in addition to the presents he had brought from Europe. Thus they hoped he would be able to avoid "a tedious and lingering treaty." They recommended him also to apply to the President and Council of the Bay for a credit of 50,000 rupees. As to his conduct on the way, they offered some advice. It had been reported to them that the Emperor's second son, ordered to assist the Governor of another province, had encamped near Bramporee and was suspected of corresponding with the enemy. They doubted whether Sir William should visit this prince, but urged him to pay his respects to Assed Khan, the Grand Vizier, who was attacking Bramporee, as it was important not to offend so great a personage. Assed and six others were said to govern the Empire and Sir William was advised especially to consult with one of these six, one Yarlebeg, as he had a reputation for "unparalalled virtue for these parts of the world." If the Emperor should, as was expected, direct Sir William to nominate some person to introduce him to the

Imperial presence from time to time and otherwise act as a medium, they strongly advised that this Yarlebeg should be chosen. Some others were named as fit assistants. The Council further added recommendations as to his deportment and general behaviour in circumstances that would be both new and strange.

"The customs and treatment of strangers in the Court of this proud and arbitrary prince so much differing from what may be esteemed hon'ble and not denied amongst the princes of Europe yet not attainable with this Emperor who styles himself King of the world and his great ministers equal or little inferior to other Kings in their phrase, leaders or heads of Nations."

They advised Sir William to be very careful in his treatment of these officials, so as not to make enemies among them. This was because of the great importance of his mission and the critical nature of the time, due to the age and infirmity of the Emperor.[1]

The same day Sir William received a personal application from the private Secretary of Sir John Gayer asking to be received into the service of the Embassy. This man brought with him a number of letters which proved conclusively that there was deliberate opposition to Sir William's mission. As can be well understood, Sir John Gayer was very angry with his former Secretary for this action.

Two days later Sir William imprisoned three factors of the Old Company who had brought him a message from Sir John Gayer, the President and Council. This message he had refused to receive unless they (the President and Council) should come with it in person. The Ambassador's Secretary was commanded to see that they left the house and close the garden door against them. The factors forced open the door and apparently acted in somewhat violent manner. Sir

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[1] *See* Surat Factory Records, Vol. 6.

William thereupon complained to the Governor and demanded the detention not only of Sir John Gayer but also the rest of the Council until the matter should be reported to the Mogul. So drastic measures met with little favour from the Mogul's representative. Indeed, he went so far as to threaten force against the Ambassador himself for daring to talk of imprisoning any one in the Mogul's dominions. He allowed the offenders to go free as "Englishmen and gentlemen."

At last on January 25, tents were struck in preparation for the departure. Next day Sir William received from the Consul 40,000 rupees for his journey and 100,000 rupees to be placed at the disposal of the Mogul.

H. DAS

TWO POEMS

CELESTIAL INCENSE.

Blue plumes of incense drifting up;
Making strange patterns on the air;
Dragons and mandarins; and ideographs;
Kites and flower-broidered banners;
Gods and lovely maidens, and the scent
Of fragrant sandal-wood, mingling in
The floating smoke from one small brazier,
Enmesh me in a web of alien charm; of sun
And temple-bells and lotus-blooms; of
Junks and sampans, and coloured lateen
Sails; of willow-trees and almond-blossoms,
And clash of brazen gong and sound of drum.

IN CANTON.

I saw her in the Street of Strange Delights,
Where mingled scent of samshu, soy and cassia;
Incense, opium, spice and sandal-wood. She was
A little maid of old Cathay, with almond eyes
And lips hibiscus-red; her mid-night hair was
Strung with beads and blooms and blue King-fisher
Feathers; her moon-shaped face, of ivory tint, shone
Palely luculent. The mellow light of painted lanterns
Lit the scene, where dragons sprawled above the
Lacquered doors of red and black. She was a Sing-Song
Girl,—her name? I never knew, but she resembled some
Exotic bloom of the warm and glamorous night, as she
Wandered in that throng of secret, silent, yellow men.

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE FATHER OF INDIAN JOURNALISM—I.

ROBERT KNIGHT—HIS LIFE-WORK:

And now comes one who, in a madding world
By passions torn, and full of jealousies,
And all uncharitableness,—amidst
The juggles of diplomacy, the pranks
Of power, and summersaults of clowns in brief
Authority enrobed,—all calmly, quietly,
And silently, much noble work achieved
In loyalty to Conscience and his God.
Ah! who now cares for either? Politics
Knoweth no God, and, surely, 'tis no man's
Business to mind the other! And doth not
The world without both get on all the same—
Nay, better far without such hind'rances?
What more clear than that Vice in purple shines,
While Virtue goes about in sorriest rags?
So reason Vanity Fair's blind frequenters!
Villainous inference from premise false!
But spurning the vile Gospel of the damned,
With ken beyond the hazy, fleeting Present,
And fixed unalterably on Jehovah's
Blazing throne, on the Christ that bled for man,
He thro' the weary years did consecrate
His mind and all its powers to his kind.
A dauntless Knight! he battled gallantly
For his weak brethren in an alien land,
And smote the smiters with a heavy hand,
His potent pen, e'en like Ithuriel's spear,
No falsehood base, or unctuous hypocrisy
Enduring. Champion, lover, friend of Truth,
Such life as thine, so good and beautiful,
So full of love and human-heartedness,
Springing up e'en midst influences vile,

Like a white lily from wild sedge and slush,—
Is truly sweet and grateful to the Lord!

RAM SHARMA'S[1] *The Last Day—Among the Elect.*

Thirty-six years ago in this city breathed his last Robert Knight emphatically the Statesman and Friend of India. He was the last of the "Dauntless Three"—Evans Bell[2] and Robert Durie Osborn[3] being the other two—in whom was present the same single-minded devotion to India, the same unflinching courage and the same tireless diligence for advocating the causes of the Indians. His two Brethren-in-arms predeceased Robert Knight in England, and of him alone the last sacrifice demanded, that he should lay down his life in the land where duty claimed him. When India was regarded by most of the Englishmen as a "land of regrets," a despised and accursed country—when those even who had sojourned in this land were deemed almost as chartered aliens as its own races, Robert Knight and his tried comrades took up their arms for her cause, fought her battles and made her wrongs their own. India was not in those days the fashionable cold weather resort of prince and tourist, the facile medium of self-advertising politicians. Little reward was then to be expected by those who sacrificed themselves for her sake, except that of being contumetiously identified with a subject race. Seldom even was the bare meed of common gratitude accorded by those for whom they battled; if their efforts stayed the hand of the oppressor or baulked the oppressor's wrath, it sufficed. The steady amelioration of the lot of the dumb myriads and the inauguration of a higher standard of morality and justice in British Indian administration—these were the goals they sought to attain; and in their attainment lay all the rewards they expected, the only guerdon they looked for.

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[1] Naba Kristo Ghosh, well-known under the pseudonym of Ram Sarma, was the son of Kailash Chandra Ghosh of Pathuriaghata, Calcutta. He was born on the 19th of August, 1837, and educated at the Oriental Seminary, under Captain Francis Palmer, son of John Palmer, of John Palmer and Co., the famous Agency House of Calcutta. He entered Government service in 1853; and retired on an invalid pension at the age of 40. In 1886 he published "The Last Day," a poem in blank verse containing interesting comments upon the life and character of the most famous men in Bengal throughout the 19th Century. He was a student of astrology, and in 1885 published in Bengali his "Jyotish Prokash." Between 1872 and 1876 he contributed to "Mukherjee's Magazine" his best poems and died on the 1st day of March 1918 at his house at Barnagore in the northern suburb of Calcutta. His verse is distinguished by a certain vigour of style and independence of mind. He is the only Bengali writer of English poetry who chose subjects of political or biographical interest. His reputation suffers from the fact that most of his verse is scattered throughout various journals. A few specimens of his excellent English verse have been inserted in "Bengali Book of English Verse" published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., and edited by Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, M.A., D.Litt.

[2] Major Evans Bell died in 1887, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography.*

[3] Lieutenant-Colonel R. D. Osborn died in 1889, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography.*

The history of the life-work of Robert Knight is the history of every Indian public question from 1850 to 1889. The extent to which he influenced the decision of these public questions and the direction in which that influence was exerted, will be told as fully as possible in these pages. His intellectual activity and non-conformist independence did not confine to matters of purely Indian concern. On all those larger questions of imperial policy and international comity, his mature counsel and penetrative judgment were eagerly sought by those entrusted with their adjustment. As an upright and conscientious worker, Robert Knight had no equal among his contemporaries, and Sir Steuart Bayley, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, was right when he wrote in 1890, after Robert Knight's death :

> Though it was my misfortune to be opposed to him politically all my life, I am only echoing the opinion of all who knew his life and work when I say that an abler or a more upright man than Robert Knight never stepped in India.

Robert Knight was born in England on the 13th March, 1825. His parents gave him a good literary education and desired that he should become a priest of the Anglican Church. But the boy's studies of the sacred literature developed in him a strong non-conformist tendency, and he took delight in preaching in non-conformist churches as an amateur. Failing to get a berth for his son in the Established Church for his non-conformist preaching, Robert Knight's father obtained for him, through the help of Major-General Sir Archibald Gallaway, a friend of the family, the post of agent at Bombay, of Messrs. Cutler, Palmer and Co.,[1] in the beginning of 1847. He arrived in Bombay towards the end of the year with a letter of introduction from Major-General Gallaway to George Wingate, and resided for some time with him. His connection with Messrs. Cutler, Palmer and Co., lasted for a little over two years. His pay being small, he was encouraged by Wingate[2] and other friends to supplement his income by contributions to local newspapers, especially the *Bombay Times.* Aided by Wingate, young Knight soon acquired a fair knowledge of Indian public finance and land-revenue systems. On his way out to Bombay he also deeply read Gallaway's *Law and Constitution of India*, a monumental work on land tenures of India.

In 1850 Robert Knight cut off his connection with Messrs. Cutler, Palmer and Co., and permanently drifted towards Indian journalism. About this time the condition of the Press in Bombay was not quite satisfactory. There were then three English journals, the *Bombay Times*, the *Bombay*

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[1] Messrs. Cutler, Palmer and Co., Wine Importers, is the oldest firm of the kind in India. It was established in London in 1815 by George Henry Cutler. On G. H. Cutler's death he was succeeded by his brother Captain Frank Cutler, R. N., who established a branch in Bombay in 1842.

[2] Knight thus writes about Wingate :—

"No man in our day has exercised such powerful influence indirectly upon Indian affairs as Sir George Wingate. We sat at his feet very early and have but reflected in popular form in our writings the doctrines we learned thereat. The conviction of the profound folly of the Permanent Settlement, however, was learnt by us not from Sir George Wingate, but from a writer with whose pages every civilian in India ought to be familiar, while the work unfortunately is out of print. We mean the *Law and Constitution of India* by Colonel Gallaway. Had this work not fallen unfortunately into oblivion, the Permanent Settlement school would never have arisen, and the greatest service perhaps any one could now do the State would be to publish a new edition of it with the chapter on Land Tenures in Wilkie's *Mysore* as an appendix to it."

Gazette, the *Telegraph*; *and Courier*; and the ethics of the Fourth Estate of Bombay were apt to find expression in lampoons well-seasoned with epigrammatic comments on the personal peculiarities of the rival editors. As a non-conformist and puritan, Robert Knight was shocked on his landing in Bombay at finding the Fort Walls which were then intact, placarded with notices impugning an editor's veracity. There had been a journalistic quarrel, and one of the combatants finding that the columns of his journal were not spacious enough for his polemics, had adopted this curious mode of publishing them. Young Knight noted thus on the tone of the Bombay Press of this time:—

> Upon (T. J. A.) Scott's retirement from the paper, the *Telegraph and Courier* fell into unfortunate hands (one Halcraft), and as Dr. George Buist was an habitué of (Bombay) Government House—far too much so unfortunately for his reputation's sake—and the other journalists were not —the *Bombay Gazette* (under John Connon) and the *Telegraph and Courier* (under Halcraft) rivalled each other in scurrilous abuse of the *Bombay Times* (under Dr. George Buist). The attacks upon him in the other two papers were always coarse, and sometimes even brutal. The late John Connon was for years a heavy offender in this direction, and the language sometimes used by him would seem incredible to men in these days. We well remember one of these amenities in which he opened his attack upon the "spirit of a jackass that dwells in our flunkey contemporary." In the same way he thought it witty to speak of Mr. Halcraft of the *Telegraph and Courier* as "our contemporary Calcraft" seldom designating him in any other way. Connon was driven into a show of decency by the advent of George Craig to the *Telegraph and Courier*. Craig was a man of good natural abilities, and being a vigorous writer, not very scrupulous, and a great master of abuse, Connon found the game too warm, and finally left the 'gutter' to his rival, with a plaintive appeal to the public, against the ruffianly degradation of the Bombay Press by Craig. As a fact, the ruffianism of the Bombay Press for several years, was certainly unprecedented.

Of the Bombay journals mentioned already, the *Bombay Times* edited by Dr. George Buist was undoubtedly the most influential. It was brought into existence in 1838 which was, in one sense, the turning point in the history of the

Press in India. During this period the last traces of hostility and even hatred of the Indian official class to independent journalism had passed away forever. Lord William Bentinck left the glory and the official penalty of legislatively freeing the Indian Press forever to his successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, but that distinguished Governor-General had himself done more to make honest journalism a power than any who had filled the office. As the first administrative reformer in the forty years that had passed since the constitution of Lord Cornwallis, Lord William Bentinck had to invite the aid of the Indian Press and of all thoughtful officials through the Press against the vested interests and disgraceful abuses which resisted all improvement.

Then it was that civilians like the Hon'ble Frederick John Shore contributed anonymously to the *India Gazette*, a Calcutta daily journal, those letters exposing the maladministration of the country and the corruption of the subordinate officials.[6] It was only six months before that Sir Charles Metcalfe had abolished the censorship and that Macaulay had written his two great minutes on the liberty of the Indian Press. The Charter of 1833 also had freed trade and had opened the country to those who previously had been only licensed interlopers and yet dared not to acquire or hold land in their own names. English education, both Government and missionary, was beginning to raise a school of Indian writers. The prospects of progress were very bright, and it would have been more rapid than it proved to be when the first Afghan war—the consequence of conspiracy of half a dozen Simla

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[1] These letters he republished afterwards with his name as "*Notes on Indian Affairs.*" Writing in 1836 he made this statement in his introduction:—" These facts and opinions mark the progress of public feeling on the subjects of British Indian Government. Ten or twelve years since, had any man in India ventured to publish such strictures on the Indian administration, he would most undoubtedly have been banished the country." So wrote the Commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories—the Hon'ble Frederick John Shore himself.

officials—and its results caused that break which was so unfortunately marked by the reigns of Lords Auckland and Ellenborough. The extreme policies of both these rulers— the disasters to the Indian Empire for which they were responsible and the acts of injustice to the men who would have prevented such disasters and did everything to redeem them, of which the latter especially was guilty, supplied growing Indian public opinion with plentiful of criticism. The controversies of the day raged fiercely in the various newspapers. Sir Charles Trevelyan, then a junior official, noted thus on the atmosphere that prevailed then in the Indian official world :—

> When I first went to India the country was suffering under a Reign of Terror on a small scale. There had been deportations of editors, and penalties imposed on those who wrote in the obnoxious newspapers, the consequence of which was that there was a state of general mental restraint and stagnation; and any person who advocated any reform, however desirable, was regarded more or less as a dangerous innovator. The first inroad that was made upon that system was by an announcement which appeared in the public papers, signed by Lord William Bentinck's Private Secretary, stating that His Lordship was ready to receive suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the natives and the development of the resources of the country, from whatever quarter they came. This announcement was so inconsistent with the prevailing state of feeling such as I have described, that at first the authenticity of it was not believed; and it was a long time before the Anglo-Indian community availed themselves of Lord William Bentinck's liberal intentions. The first practical exemplification of a free Press was that remarkable series of letters published by the Honourable Frederick Shore, under the signature of 'A Friend to India,' in which the detailed administration of the Government of India was criticised with great severity. I remember that, as each letter came out, we used to expect that some severe measure would be taken against Mr. Shore but probably the circumstance which established the complete mental emancipation of the community was the general blaze of newspaper-writing called out by the letters signed 'Indophilus' which letters had the merit of inducing all kinds of people who had never before written in the newspapers to enter into a discussion of the public interests of the country in the newspapers. I can mention another remarkable case in which the

public interests were subserved by freedom of discussion. I had been employed by Lord William Bentinck to prepare a scheme of detailed arrangements for opening the navigation of the Indus, the first foundation of which was laid by Lord Ellenborough. A copy of this paper was sent by the Governor-General to Lord Clare, who was the Governor of Bombay, and he sent it to the Bombay newspapers; and as comments of various kinds appeared upon it, explanations were required for the successful understanding of the measures. Upon this I commenced a series of letters signed 'Indophilus,' directed to that particular object; but I found, before I had gone far, that I had got possession of the public ear and mind, and that I might turn this to very valuable account. I had recently returned to Calcutta from the Upper Provinces, with a strong impression of the great evils of the then existing land revenue system and of the uncertainty and absence of all security of property consequent upon the temporary settlements then made from year to year; and it occurred to me that I might, with great advantage, make such an exposé of the subject as would enlighten public opinion and create a general tendency on the part of the Commissioners, Collectors and other persons engaged in those settlements, towards making moderate settlements and long settlements so as to establish in that part of India the great principle of the security of property. I accordingly directed the series of 'Indophilus' letters to that object; and I think I do not say too much in asserting that the effect which was produced on public opinion by those letters had a manifest tendency to bring about a moderate and satisfactory settlement. [1]

And behind the ordinary and regular combatants who inveighed bitterly against maladministration through the medium of the Press, there were also many thoughtful and high-principled officials who sought a different means of expressing their views and provoking that discussion of which truth is born. And there was another, if not a larger class, both official and non-official, who had long contemplated with sorrow the chill given to progress since Bentinck's and Metcalfe's time, who were conversant with the conditions of the people on the one hand and the inefficiency or corruption of English administration on the other, who had formed plans for the regeneration of India and who sought to deliver their souls by writing something more permanent, if not more effective, than newspaper articles and letters. Foremost among the former class of officers was Henry Lawrence, and among the latter was Alexander Duff. Belonging to both but rather to the latter by preference, was Hippisley Marsh. And there were two foremost leaders of public opinion at that time in Eastern India, John William Kaye who was editing the *Bengal Hurkaru*, a daily paper of Calcutta, and John Clark Marshman who had already established the great *Friend of India*, a weekly newspaper in Serampore.

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[1] In June 1839, Disraeli writing to his sister said : "I am reading the Indian newspapers which are the most amusing thing I have met with since the Arabian Nights."

In Western India this spirit of reform was represented by Dr. George Buist, Revd. Philip Anderson, Howard Brothers, George Wingate, Henry Anderson, John Connon,[1] Henry Green, young Knight and several others. Within three years after Metcalfe granted freedom to the Indian

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[1] Robert Knight wrote thus about John Connon:—"Mr. Connon deserved well of Bombay. Inspite of his faults, he was an honest, independent writer, and he introduced careful editing, and the discussion of important public questions into the Bombay Press, having as one of his colleagues, the late Professor Green of the Poona College, whose essay on the Goldsmid-Wingate 'Settlement' of the land in Western India is a paper valuable for all time to the Indian Statesman." (Vide *The Deccan Ryots and their Land Tenure. By H. Green, Professor of Literature at Poona College, Bombay, 1852.*)

James Douglas in his *Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I, p. 239, says:- "John Connon was an upright and conscientious judge, and I may add an upright and fearless journalist. 'I have been of the Press,' said he in his happiest vein of pleasantry at a public dinner, and at a time when he had left the Press for ever; 'and I may take to it again, and I hereby give fair warning that if any man vexes, torments, or unduly persecutes me without cause, I shall start a newspaper and hunt him down.' The English Cemetery of Alexandria is a forbidding place, no doubt in all conscience now deeply enough ploughed by the British Army of Occupation. Here on this bleak and sandy waste, where an Empire was lost and won, under scanty shadow of tamarisk or acacia and under the granite of his native district, lie the mortal remains of John Connon.'" On page 237 there is a portrait of John Connon as Chief Magistrate of Bombay. There is a short account of him in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 467 (addenda).

Another Bombay journalist writes:—"'Honest' John Connon was a member of the Bombay Press before his elevation to the Magistracy. As a Magistrate, 'Honest' John was successful and popular, and many were the stories in circulation in the early seventies (of the last century) concerning his efficacious judicial methods."

John Connon was Secretary, Bombay Chamber of Commerce, from 1846-1857: he was succeeded by John Mawson, 1857-1859.

Press, a body of Bombay capitalists, mostly members of the newly founded Bombay Chamber of Commerce, combined to bring out a newspaper which would be a worthy representative of the power of the Press in Bombay. Another circumstance, besides the emancipation of the Press, also induced these men to venture upon their new enterprise. This was the establishment of regular communication between Bombay and Europe by the means of steam, during the late thirties of the last century. The persistent efforts of the indefatigable enthusiast, Thomas Waghorn, were at last to be crowned with success, and a monthly mail was to be established between Bombay and London. It was at this juncture that both capital and talent of Bombay combined to bring out a journal on 3rd November, 1838, under the name of the *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce.* Sir Robert Grant was Governor of Bombay at the time, and he cordially approved of the scheme; several of the most distinguished servants of the Government also countenancing and supporting. The actual projectors and proprietors of the new venture were among them eleven of the principal European mercantile houses of Bombay, mostly members of the newly established Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the oldest and most distinguished Indian merchant, two of the most eminent barristers of the Bombay Supreme Court and the most distinguished private medical practitioner in Western India. They selected as their first editor, Dr. J. E. Brenan,[1] an Irishman, who was a lecturer of eminence on anatomy in Dublin and who came out to Bombay under medical advice, as his delicate state of health rendered a warm climate desirable. Under him the *Bombay Times* began brilliantly as a bi-weekly paper appearing on Saturday and Wednesday; but unfortunately he died in the following year, and his duties were temporarily assumed by one of the proprietors of the paper, Professor

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[1] Dr. J. E. Brenan acted also as Secretary, Bombay Chamber of Commerce, in 1838-39.

William Henderson of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, a Government official. He did not, however, remain in the editorial charge of the *Bombay Times* for more than six months, and he was succeeded temporarily by Dr. Richard Knight[1] of the East India Company's medical establishment. In May 1840, Dr. Richard Knight was relieved by Dr. George Buist. Assuming the editorial charge Dr. Buist wrote as follows:—

> The *Bombay Times* was started with the express views of advocating public improvements and of devoting itself to the interests of the country; to the discussion of the views and policy of Government, and the examination and diffusion of those opinions, facts and doctrines, the circumstances of the occasion, the exigencies and prospects of the period rendered expedient, with the cordial approval of Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of the time, and countenance and support of the most distinguished servants of Government. A vast addition to the number of the European community and increase to the mercantile enterprise of the Bombay Presidency having been occasioned by the operation of the new charter, fostered as they were by the exertions of a succession of able and patriotic administrations in the period just preceding 1840, it became apparent that new life-blood was wanted in the Press, and that newspapers must from henceforth have much more important tasks to perform than the announcement of the reliefs of the army, the chronicling of the movements of the Governor or festivals at Government House, the accidents of the chase, or calamities of famine or conflagration. A free Press was desiderated for the advocacy of public measures, now that freedom of discussion had been permitted to newspapers and a public created for their perusal, while the opening up of the overland communication was beginning to permit the transmission of enlightenment to the people at home through the journals of India. To this, as to all other changes in the political sky, the people of Bombay were fully alive, and they were successful to bring into existence the journal under our charge.

When Dr. George Buist became an Indian journalist, his prominent contemporary was Robert Wigram Crawford[2] who edited and owned a share of the *Bombay Courier*. In 1842 the old *Bombay Gazette*, having lost its clientele through advocating the causes of Christianity, ceased to exist, and in the following year P. J. Mckenna and the Revd. Dr. John Stevenson, D.D., began to publish the first English daily paper called the *British Indian Gentleman's Gazette and Bombay Daily News-paper*. In July 1846 Jamieson[1] started the *Bombay Telegraph* as a bi-weekly paper, and at the end of the year, T. J. A. Scott succeeded R.W. Crawford as editor and part proprietor of the *Bombay Courier*. In 1847 Jamieson, finding his journal financially unsuccessful, sold the *Bombay Telegraph* to his relation T. J. A. Scott. The latter amalgamated both the papers, and on the 1st January 1847 the amalgamated papers appeared as a daily paper called the *Telegraph and Courier*— the second English daily newspaper of Bombay.[2] In 1845 the well-known John Connon came

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[1] Dr. Richard C. Knight was Assistant Surgeon in Bombay in 1840-41, became Presidency Surgeon at Kotah; was an uncovenanted medical officer in 1850-52; appointed assistant surgeon in Bengal on the 4th February, 1853; died at Bijnor on 14th June, 1860.

[2] R. W. Crawford afterwards became 1st Judge, Bombay Small Cause Court.

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[1] Jamieson retired home and founded the *London Mail* about 1853.

[2] On April 9, 1879 Robert Knight thus noted on Bombay Journalism :—"In a recent speech at the Bycalla Club in Bombay and in referring to its newspapers, the Hon'ble Mr. James Gibbs recalled his own memories of the same press at the time he came to India.

"Thirty-two years ago there was one daily newspaper supported by two bi-weekly ones. The daily paper extended by degrees in size and improved vastly in other particulars and is now known familiarly to all of us as the *Bombay Gazette*. The two bi-weekly papers then called the *Courier* and the *Bombay Times*, after diverse and sundry transmutations and transmigrations, were finally formed into another daily paper, at the present time, the well-known *Times of India*. Gentlemen, I have no knowledge of the internal economy of either of our daily papers at the present time, but I have some idea that they cost each of the able editors a great deal of time and trouble. I believe also that the collection of the information which we read day by day in their columns costs a great deal of money. I only know that in those days the editor of the *Gentleman's Gazette* was a very mild, very elderly person who went about in a palkee dressed in white garments including a short jacket from office to office, to acquire any information he could in order to fill the next day's issue, and I am sorry to say that he often got such information that he not only fitted the next day's paper, but he had on the following day generally to contradict what had appeared before."

"At the time of which Mr. Gibbs speaks, the *Bombay Times*, under the editorship of the late Dr. Buist, and the *Friend of India* under the late Mr. Marshman were virtually the Indian Press. The *Bombay Times* was founded in 1838 by the local chamber of commerce.

"It is a curious coincidence that Dr. Buist assumed charge of the journal in 1838 or 1839 in succession to a Mr. R. Knight, and appointed as his own successor 18 years out from England to succeed P. J. Mckenna and John Stevenson as editor of the *British Indian Gentleman's Gazette and Bombay Daily Newspaper*. In 1849 he purchased this paper and changed the awkward name to the simple *Bombay Gazette* from the 12th November, 1849.

In 1850, the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* increased their capital, and converted their journal on the 2nd September of this year into a daily journal, under Dr. George Buist. In this year young Knight became a paid contributor to the daily *Bombay Times*, and having severed his connection with Messrs. Cutler, Palmer and Co., accepted the editorship of a bi-weekly newspaper started by some English and Indian residents of Poona, called the *Poona Observer*. Dr. George Buist valued his contributions on Indian public finance, which he used to publish in his journal over young Knight's signature as he did not entirely agree with what Knight used

afterwards another gentleman of the same name or at all events, the same initials. The former one was, we think, a Mr. Richard Knight. The 'elderly person' of the *Gentleman's Gazette* to whom Mr. Gibbs refers, was a Mr. Mckenna, under whose unfortunate conduct of the paper it earned for itself the title of the *Blackguard's Gazette*. The late Mr. Connon succeeded Mr. Mckenna, and it was he, if we remember rightly, who gave the paper its present title of the *Bombay Gazette*. The *Bombay Times* in those days was published but twice a week and became a daily paper about the year 1851, we think. The *Telegraph and Courier* was edited at the time of which Mr. Gibbs speaks by a Mr. T. J. Scott who was made the first Secretary of the G. I. P. Railway in Bombay, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered the Company, in promoting the introduction of the Railway."

T. J. A. Scott, came to India in 1840 and became under-Secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce on Rs. 60 a month. To supplement his income he contributed to local newspapers. In 1841 he succeeded Robert Xavier Murphy as Secretary, Bombay Chamber of Commerce which post he occupied till 1846. He was succeeded by John Connon. In 1844 he became editor of the *Bombay Times* during the temporary absence of Dr. Buist in England. In January 1846, he was appointed honorary Secretary to the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company. This post he continued to hold till 1849 when he was permanently appointed Secretary with a suitable emolument. In May, 1852 he went to England to study railway management and returned to Bombay in October following. On the 16th April, 1853, he was present at the opening of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway and received from the Directors a public acknowledgment. He died in Bombay in October, 1853. He used to contribute in his later days to *The Household Words* and his two tales on "My Uncle Bin's Courtships" and "Sent out to India" appeared ni *Saunders' Monthly Magazine* published at Meerut in 1852-53.

to write. They were vigorous home-thrusts against Indian official policy of finance and were not altogether palatable to the admirers of Lord Dalhousie who was then Governor-General of India. Knight's severe strictures on the Governor-General's measure for the reduction of interest on the public debt in India from five to four per cent., when there was a surplus of revenue over expenditure, and which made Indian bankers especially of Bombay, to lose heavily, produced a very favourable impression among the Indian share-holders of the *Bombay Times* and the *Poona Observer.*[1] In December 1852, Dr. Buist went home on six months' leave, and the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* placed Knight in charge of their journal, in addition to his duties as editor of the *Poona Observer*. From 1852 to 1857 Knight vigorously attacked not only in his own journal, but also as an under-study of Dr. Buist, almost all the measures of Lord Dalhousie. His exuberant and aggressive sympathy for the good of the Indian people became daily expressed in the journals, and silently undermined the great personal influence which Dr. Buist exerted over the Bombay people. Knight's incisive and trenchant style made his writings more readable and his personality more popular than those of the veteran Dr. Buist. In January 1857, the latter proceeded home on a year's leave of absence, and the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* again placed Knight in charge of their paper, in addition to his work as editor of the *Poona Observer*. Shortly after the Indian Mutiny broke out, and a strange spectacle was witnessed in the Indian Press. Sir George Otto Trevelyan has thus graphically described the attitude of the English editors of the time:—

> The tone of the (Anglo-Indian) press was horrible. Never did the cry for blood swell so loud as among these Christians and Englishmen in

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[1] On this occasion Knight came forward in his own name and denounced the measure in a series of letters published in the *Bombay Times* which showed his great natural abilities and thorough grasp of Indian public finance.

the middle of the nineteenth century. The pages of those brutal and grotesque journals published by Hibert and Marat during the agony of the French Revolution, contained nothing that was not matched and surpassed in the files of some Calcutta papers. Because the pampered Bengal Sepoys had behaved like double-eyed rascals, therefore every Hindoo and Mussalman was a rebel, a traitor, a murderer; therefore, we have to pray that all the population of India might have one neck, and that all the hemp in India might be twisted into one rope. It would be wearisome to quote specimens of the style of that day. Every column teemed with invectives which, at the time, seemed coarse and tedious, but which we must now pronounce to be wicked and blasphemous. For what could be more audacious than to assert that Providence had granted us a right to destroy a nation in our wrath?—to slay, and burn, and plunder, not in the cause of order and civilisation, but in the name of our insatiable vengeance, and our imperial displeasure? The wise ruler (Lord Canning) whose comprehensive and impartial judgment preserved him from the contagion of that fatal frenzy, was assailed with a storm of obloquy for which we should in vain seek a precedent in history. To read the newspapers of that day you would believe that Lord Canning was at the bottom of the whole mutiny; that upon his head was the guilt of the horrors of Cawnpore and Allahabad; that it was he who had passed round the chupatties and the lotahs, and spread the report that the Russ was marching down from the north to drive the English into the sea. After all the crime charged against him was, not that he had hindered the butchery, but that his heart was not in the work. No one had the face to say, or at any rate, no one had the weakness to believe, that Lord Canning had pardoned any considerable number of condemned rebels. His crying sin was this, that he took little or no pleasure in the extermination of the people whom he had been commissioned by his Sovereign to govern and protect.

After Lord Canning Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had the gratification of being the personage most profusely and fiercely maligned by the enemies of the native; which honourable position he long retained, until of late Sir Charles Wood put in his claim, a claim which has been instantly and fully recognised. A certain journal made the brilliant suggestion that Sir John Peter, had he dared, would very likely have released the Sepoys whom General Neill had ordered for execution, and then proceeded to abuse him as if he had actually so done. This hypothetical case soon grew into a fact. It was stated positively in all quarters, that Sir John Peter Grant had set free the murderers of Cawnpore with a bombastic proclamation, containing the words 'in virtue of my high authority,' an expression which at once discredited the story in the estimation of all who knew the man. Sir John and his high authority were reviled and ridiculed in the daily and weekly papers of England and India in conversation, on the stage and on the hustings. Meanwhile with native laziness and good humour, he said nothing, and allowed the tempest to whistle about his ears without moving a muscle. At length the Home Government wrote out to the Governor-General, directing him to take cognizance of the affair; and he accordingly requested the accused party to explain how the matter stood. Then Sir John spoke out and affirmed that the report was a pure fabrication; that he never enlarged a single sepoy; and that, had he desired to thwart General Neill, such interference would have been entirely out of his power. Hereupon the Press in general proceeded to make amends in a full and satisfactory manner. One newspaper, however, had no intention of letting him off so easily, and put forward an apology which was exquisitely characteristic and which probably diverted the object quite as much as it was designed to vex him. The gist of it was, that Sir John had undoubtedly been falsely charged in this particular instance, but that he was such a confirmed and abandoned friend of the native as quite to deserve everything he had got; and that no contumely whether rightly or wrongly bestowed on him, could by any possibility come amiss.

The attitude of the English editors of the Bombay newspapers was worse. The most influential English journals of that day were, with one exception, in the hands of the Europeans who carried away by their sympathy for the victims of Cawnpore and Lucknow, could make no distinction between the handful of rebels against British domination and the millions who either remained passive spectators of the struggle or who openly expressed abhorrence of the revolt. In the eyes of these publicists every Indian was a mutineer; a murderer for whom hanging was too good. Men who in the ordinary relations of life, displayed every virtue and the keenest love of fairplay, were blinded by passion as soon as they began to talk or write of the mutiny, and that detestable "clemency Canning" who would not put the mark of Cain on the forehead of every Indian so that he might be killed at sight by any European. At such a time it required more than ordinary courage for an Englishman to plead for justice for the maligned millions who were not mutineers, for such a course meant social ostracism for the wilful person adopting it. How much greater was the fortitude when it involved possible financial ruin! The one exception referred to above was young and valiant Robert Knight, then at the helm of the *Bombay Times.* Day after day, in spite of entreaties, protests and threats, Knight[1] deliberately refused to be led away by passion and prejudice of his countrymen, pleaded for justice, preserved a calm and dispassionate judgment in his writings and stayed not his hand, though each succeeding post brought him from his irate subscribers, the mandate "stop my paper." Alarmed at the policy adopted by Knight, Dr. Buist hastened out to Bombay in nine months while the mutiny was still at its height, and resuming charge of the *Bombay Times*, joined in the fatal frenzy, cried out blood for blood and changed entirely the tone of the editorial utterances of his journal.

The *Bombay Times* was then the property of a joint stock company, some shares of which were held by Indians. But regardless of this fact, Dr. Buist lost no opportunity of calling the whole Indian population "ferocious tigers, treacherous barbarians and cruel savages." He began to propagate the wildest proposals of vengeance upon the people with his zeal in a new faith, and devoted his undoubted talents to stir up the worst feelings of the Government and of private Europeans against the Indians. The people of Bombay were alarmed. Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsis all cast about for a way to stop the evil. The flood of bad bile which the infuriated doctor kept pouring forth every day must be checked at all hazards. The means was found and the discovery was characteristic of commercial Bombay. They set their heads together, and they began to buy up the shares of the *Bombay Times* as they were available in the market. In a short time something less than half these shares passed to their hands. They had managed this so quietly as to excite no suspicions. At any rate, Dr. Buist who had no inconsiderable interest in the property, knew nothing of the *coup* that was to be sprung upon him. Having now gained a hold on the business, Nowrojee Furdoonjee, a prominent shareholder, called a meeting of the shareholders on the 23rd December, 1857, for the consideration of the tone of policy which should be pursued by the *Bombay Times* in the critical state of affairs brought about by the Indian Mutiny. Nowrojee was the chief speaker at the meeting, and in a long address he urged that a public journalist, the aim and object of whose writings ought to be the promotion of the welfare and happiness of the great mass of the people of this country, ought to be the last person to cast unfounded and sweeping imputations on their character ; to accuse the whole population of treachery and cruelties committed by a particular class or section of it, and to call the whole population "ferocious tigers, treacherous barbarians and cruel savages." On the motion of Nowrojee it was resolved :

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[1] In a note Knight says :—"About this time I stood alone of the Press at Lord Canning's side in the Mutiny and saw half the subscribers to my journal withdraw in the course of a few weeks."

> That the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* newspaper are of opinion that the recent articles therein published by the present editor, Dr. Buist, regarding the character and conduct of the natives of India in general, and the opinions and sentiments which the editor has therein expressed on the subject of the policy which should be adopted by Government towards the natives generally, and the treatment of which they are deserving at the hands of Government and of Europeans, are illiberal, impolitic and unjust and tend to alienate the native chiefs and Her Majesty's native subjects from the British Government, and to excite discontent and disaffection throughout British India, and are, therefore, in violation of Act No. XV of 1857. The proprietors, therefore, distinctly direct that Dr. Buist forthwith desist from the course which he is pursuing and entirely change the tone and tenor of his editorial writings in these respects, to bring them

> into accordance with the general views and feelings of the proprietors as above expressed. And further that he be called upon at this meeting to pledge himself in distinct terms so to do.

The President of the meeting, Narayan Dinanathjee, on behalf of the meeting, requested Dr. Buist who was present to give the pledge as set forth in the above resolution. He was mad with rage, and having the paper yet in his hands, inveighed against the new shareholders in the foulest terms of abuse. This, however only precipitated the crisis, and on his declining to give any pledge whatever, it was further resolved :—

> That Dr. Buist having declined to pledge himself to follow the directions contained in the foregoing resolution, and the meeting having reason to believe that he intends to continue the course which he has hitherto pursued, which is contrary to his engagement with the proprietors, in opposition to their views, and detrimental to the interests of the country at large, determines that Dr. Buist be forthwith dismissed from the situation of editor of the *Bombay Times*, and that the committee of directors be authorised to secure the services of another gentleman to fill the post.

Dr. Buist was thus removed from the *Bombay Times*, and young Knight was called to his place. The John Delane of Indian journalism was thus replaced by the Bayard of the Indian Press.[1] Knight received no small reward in this

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[1] Dr. Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee, an intimate friend of Robert Knight and editor of the *Reis and Rayyet*, wrote in his diary in December 1893—" Dr. Buist was an untidy man of the most slovenly habits who never pared his nails nor kept them clean. The joke in Bombay was that the dirt under his fingers was his landed property and hence he preserved it intact. Mrs. Knight in the presence of her husband and children, told me this.

"The other day at Sir A. P. Macdonnell's last Garden Party at Belvedere I met Mr. Framji, the author of the *History of the Parsees*, who spoke lovingly of Dr. Buist as a good man who was a great friend of the natives. I reminded him of his blood-thirsty writings during the Mutinies. He said that was nothing. He had done our countrymen incalculable good by his public writings as well as his personal influence, fought for them, won them recognition and got them their rights. Over and above, he had paid out of pocket large sums to help them and improve them. But, said I, all these he had done before 1857, in which year he recanted and abandoned his better self. My Parsee friend responsible appointment for the way in which he had conducted his first journalistic duties in this country. It was as signal a proof of confidence as the Indian community of Bombay could well give. Nor on his part did he disappoint them. Aided by Dosabhai Framji Karaka, then manager of the *Bombay Times*, Knight lifted it to a higher plane of politics, and made it a powerful weapon of criticism. He took up one after another the burning questions of the right of adoption by the Indian princes, the misapplication of the revenue of India to English purposes, the indigo dispute of Bengal, the electric telegraph, the license tax, the Press Gagging Act, the waste land question, the permanent settlement of land revenue, the income-tax, the Inam Commission and several others. One of Knight's earliest journalistic triumphs as editor of the *Bombay Times* was his scathing exposure of the doings of the Inam Commission which created

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could not deny that, but said that was nothing. Dr. Buist was not singular in what he did. Many of the best Europeans were totally changed by the Mutinies.

"Mr. Framji was manager of the *Bombay Times* in 1857. The paper which had been a good property before, was never so prosperous as during the Mutinies (a disastrous time for most literary concerns not only in Bengal but in Bombay too, for I have seen the loss of subscribers as well as contributors in the Sepoy War has been assigned as the cause of the stoppage of the *Bombay Quarterly Review*). In consequence of the inflammatory and rabid articles of Dr. Buist the number of subscribers rose by thousands. Notwithstanding that, the shareholders drove Buist from the helm, at no small cost to themselves. Mr. Robert Knight, then editing the *Poona Observer*, if I remember aright, was appointed in his place. He was recommended to them by the ability with which he advocated native interests in that paper. Knight asked Framji for a list of subjects on which to write upon, and he gave him a list. Mr. Knight wrote a series of brilliant articles on the subjects. After that Knight was left to his own judgment entirely. But the paper lost subscribers in heaps. The shareholders tried to scuttle out of it. The shares went down and Knight purchased them. At last he became the proprietor. Then he changed the name into the *Times of India*, and by dint of long effort and ability, made it a prosperous concern.

"Dr. Buist after 18 years' successful editing of the *Bombay Times* was dismissed in 1857 by the Proprietors, many of them Parsees and Hindus, for persistent rabid attacks on the native character and native politics (see the *Friend of India*, January 14, 1858). I remember there used to be stormy meetings of the shareholders, and it was with difficulty that Dr. Buist could be ousted. He was an active literary and scientific man, and before the Mutiny upturned him, Bombay owed him much of its importance in this line, its Geographical and Branch Royal Asiatic Societies, etc. Besides numerous contributions to the Transactions of these bodies, several of which were reprinted, he used to issue a yearly great sensation in Bombay in 1858. Knight himself has given the following account of his effort at the very outset of his journalistic career:—

"It was the secrecy with which the well-known Inam Bill of the Dekhan was drawn up by its authors, and the exclusion of the people from all knowledge of its true character and probable effects, that produced the rebellion in the Southern Mahratta country in 1858, while the Mutiny was raging in the North West of India. It was this Inam Act that bound together all the influential classes above the Ghats in a common conspiracy against our rule when the mutiny broke out. In affirming this we are but repeating *ipsissima verba* what the late Lord Elphinstone—who was Governor of Bombay at the time—wrote privately to the great Scotch Missionary of Bombay, the venerable Dr. Wilson. Dr. Wilson

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volume of *Annals of India*, for some years. I believe after the loss of his place in Bombay, he received through the kindness of friends the post of Superintendent of Government Printing, Allahabad.

"2-12-91.—In the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. I published in 1844, I read that Dr. Buist read on the 12th April 1843 observations on the Comet of 1843 made at the Bombay observatory—(Journal, Vol. I, p. 252). At p. 344 is a note on specimens from Aden and at page 345 a note on a series of Persian Gulf specimens presented to the museum by Dr. G. Buist, LL.D."

Sir George Birdwood who knew Dr. Buist wrote:—"In 1839 on the death of Dr. Brenan Robert Xavier Murphy did duty as editor of the *Bombay Times* until the memorable coming from Cupar Fife, of the learned Dr. George Buist, the John Delane of Indian Journalism, for his wonderful domination over the highest authorities of State and the most brilliant student of physical science this country (England) ever sent out to India."

Robert Knight thus wrote about Dr. George Buist:—"We knew Dr. Buist intimately and have ever thought him the most clever man we have met in the course of our life. He was an encyclopædia of knowledge on all subjects, and was a member of half the learned Societies of Europe. He failed as an editor from two causes. In the first place he was not independent, but made himself the organ of one Government clique after another, until he had lost nearly all public respect. Thus in his violent and long continued attack upon Sir Charles Napier for his 'Conquest of Sind' iniquitous as the Conquest was, it was felt by everyone that the *Bombay Times* was rather the mouthpiece of the Government (or Willoughby) clique against the old soldier, than the upright exponent of unbiassed public opinion. In the second place, Dr. Buist had "too many irons in the fire." When the *Bombay Times* had become a daily paper, he used to boast that he edited it before breakfast, and the boast was true; but then it was editorship of the metropolitan order, and not the editing that an Indian newspaper calls for if it is to be successful. Dr. Buist represented in his own person for years nearly all the public spirit of the island, and in spite of his failings and his strange aberrations in 1857-58, he was a true philanthropist and genuine friend of the people."

himself read to us at the time the letter which Lord Elphinstone had written to him on the subject.

Now that conspiracy was brought out in this way. In the war of 1817-18, and with the approval of the Government, Mr. Elphinstone had issued a proclamation to the jaghirdars and land-holding classes in the Peshwa's territories that upon their withdrawing from his cause the British Government pledged itself to respect their possessions and to leave them and their successors in the full enjoyment thereof, while it guaranteed at the same time all the temple lands of the Dekkan. It effected its purpose. The Peshwa while himself alienating the lands which were the main source of his revenues, and conferring them upon the worthless parasites who flattered him to his ruin, had created wide-spread alarm and disaffection amongst the whole body of inamdars and jaghirdars by confiscating them at will. The British Government had simultaneously, by successive and impressive acts of good faith, achieved a widespread confidence that the word of an English officer was worth more than the most solemn pledges of any ruler of their own race. The proclamation thus issued was the destruction of the Peshwa's cause. The whole body of his feudal nobility, as we should call them, fell off from him and sent in their allegiance to the British Raj. The war ended, as many of our readers can recall, in the dissolution of the whole Mahratta Confederacy, and in substituting *John Company* as Paramount Power in India, in the place of Mahrattas ruling in the name of the Mogul. Mr. Elphinstone passed from the Residency at Poona to the Governorship of Bombay, and no such Governor has it had since. The terms of the Proclamation that he had issued were religiously observed by him. The jaghirdars, the inamdars and the temple, for the first time probably in their existence, felt secure in their possessions. This condition of things lasted until the crime of the first Afghan War was conceived at Simla in 1838. In the financial distress that followed from the expenditure of some £40,000,000 sterling in the prosecution of that war, and the conquest of Sindh that was its sequence—the attention of the Supreme Government was directed to what was declared to be the undue and disproportionate expenditure of the Western Presidency. The fact of this expenditure was not to be denied when the vast alienation of the land-revenue of the Dekkan made by the Peshwas, and confirmed by Mr. Elphinstone's proclamation, was brought forward as the true cause of the constant deficit in the Bombay balance-sheet. An effort was now made to ascertain with precision what the pledges of

Mr. Elphinstone's proclamation really meant, with the result of creating a wide-spread belief that wholesale fraud had been perpetrated under the proclamation and that exact enquiry would shew that vast appropriations of state soil had been made under cover thereof. Exact enquiry was accordingly instituted, and lasted for at least seven or eight years, with the result of showing that the impression was erroneous. A certain amount of fraud had no doubt been committed in connection with the proclamation, but any attempt to ascertain its exact extent or to remedy it, was found to be impossible. Report after report followed, saying the same thing. The fraud that had been committed was trifling only, and would be very difficult of proof. The 'titles' under which the lands were held from the Mahratta Princes, were found and officially declared to be unimpeachable, while it was further shewn that the alienations of State revenue so greatly complained of, were of no wider order than the same alienations all over India. As a rule one-third of the gross land-revenue had been alienated, and its yield was passing into the hands of the zemindar, the jagbirdar, the inamdar, or the temples and mosques of the country. As the reports showed a consensus of opinion upon the subject, we might have expected that the matter would be thus set at rest. But it was not. The suggestion was now made, in 1851—by whom we fail to remember, that although the titles were in themselves unimpeachable, and protected by Mr. Elphinstone's proclamation, it was quite possible to *create defects* in them by a Legislative enactment. Such a proposal it was true had never been made before in civilised times, but it was at once grasped at by the Bombay Government in its embarrassment. The ingenuity of our district and 'settlement' officers had been placed upon the rack to discover how this might be done. The device that was finally hit upon was to bring into Council a measure that was entitled an "Act for settling and confirming the titles" by which the rent free-lands of the Dekkan held by jaghirdars, inamdars and the mosques and temples of this country should be permanently secured to them. Its real object was to confiscate the whole of them except the temple lands. Its real purpose we say, was to sweep them all at a stroke into the Government treasury, by declaring that unless the existing titles conformed to and fulfilled certain requirements laid down therein for the first time, they were to be held invalid. Thus it was enacted by one of its provisions that unless the owner then living in enjoyment of the land, could show that he had inherited it through direct lineal male descent for three or four generations, his title was vitiated by the fact, and his estate would lapse to the State upon his decease. It needs but little reflection upon the part of the reader to understand that as the provisions of an Act like this were drawn by men who were thoroughly familiar with the titles and their weak points, it became an Act of confiscation pure and simple in its working. It was at once found to be applicable to no less than 1,07,000 estates, and as the Inam tribunal established under the Act proceeded with its work, not a single title was brought forward that was not declared to be void on some ground or other under the Act. With nothing but poverty and the extinction of their families staring them in the face, it was little wonder that the whole body of the Dekkan nobles over whom the Act was hanging, should have prayed night and day for the success of Tantia Topee's rebellion and the subversion of our rule.

And now let the reader and let the Government of India observe to what we owed it all. We owed it entirely to the secrecy in which the bill had been conceived and passed. While it was under incubation, its draft was submitted in the usual way in those days (1851) to the Advocate-General whose business it was to see that it was properly drafted. The Advocate-General at that time was Mr. Henry Howard, who had the reputation of being the greatest lawyer in India, and we remember vividly the indignation with which we read the private and confidential letter with which the Bill, as amended by himself, was sent back to the Bombay Government. In this letter Mr. Howard told that he supposed the Government was aware of the fact that the Bill was of a very unique order, and without precedent under modern Government, and that it would therefore be well for it to allow it to be discussed privately only, and that precaution should be taken to prevent its real scope and intention reaching the public. The Act, he said, should be introduced privately and without noise, and the Inam tribunal constituted and set to work as undemonstratively as possible. Not one word did he say to rouse the conscience of the men who had desired the Bill, and it was not until two or three years after the tribunal had been set up under Captain Cowper that the public heard anything of the remonstrances sent in by the district collectors to the Government as to the operation of the Act, and the disaffection and ruin it was working. Every remonstrance was suppressed or received with stern rebuke, and their authors peremptorily ordered to cease their remonstrance, and to give Captain Cowper all the help in their power. The result was—the Rebellion broke out at the Southern Mahratta country during the mutiny; while its true causes were kept from the knowledge of the public altogether. Our own allusion to the Act and its working was first drawn in 1858, and we shall never forget the impression which the disclosures we received made upon us. As soon as we have mastered the question sufficiently to write about it, we began an exposure of its real character in the old *Bombay Times*. Great surprise was expressed, at the time as to who our informants were, but while the Government resented the exposure of its proceedings, the district officers to their honour were nearly unanimous in upholding us. We do not remember ever having obtained information about the Act surreptitiously, but we had access to Captain Cowper's reports of the working of his own tribunal, and disentombed certain of them so successfully that Lord Elphinstone's indignation was at last transferred from ourselves to Captain Cowper, and he wrote a very scathing minute upon the subject, in which his lordship declared that he supported Captain Cowper in the teeth of our district officers, until he could do so no longer. The tribunal was practically broken up, and Captain Cowper retired in disgrace. Parliament at last took the matter and with the disclosure of what had been secretly done before it, ordered the proceedings to be stayed instantly. It was official secrecy that had done it all, and the remedy came too late.

While the exposure was taking place in the columns of the *Bombay Times*, Captain T. A. Cowper, Revenue Commissioner for Alienations, wrote on the 5th January, 1859, the following letter to H. L. Anderson, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, with the object of prosecuting Knight for libel :—

About a month ago, there appeared in the *Bombay Times*, the first of a series of articles, having, it was explained, for their object the exposure of great injustice and oppression committed by the Government, consequent on a blind reliance upon wilfully and grossly incorrect statements submitted by the officers of the Alienation Department generally, and by me particularly. The publication of a similar article has since taken place almost daily.

2. I should pronounce these articles undeserving of any consideration at all, were the matter to which they refer, one merely between the Government and their own officers. I find no new information brought forward, nor do I find any ground whatever for believing Government to have been misinformed.

3. It seems, however, desirable to ascertain whether Government consider it either necessary or expedient that I should in any way notice these articles publicly. In one this day published, it is stated, "It so happens that Mr. Hart and Captain Cowper are both very able minuters, but neither of them is honest, while the latter cannot be trusted a footstep out of your sight." I presume that this distinct and unqualified accusation must be, unless substantiated, a libel for which a court of law would hold the paper heavily responsible. I am perfectly prepared to prosecute, but conceive that, employed as I am in a high and confidential public post, I cannot with propriety move in this or any similar matter without first of all obtaining the opinion and wishes of the Government.

4. I believe that translations of most or all of these articles have appeared in the native papers published throughout the Presidency. That such publication must be productive of unqualified evil, there can scarcely, I think, be a doubt. Did these native papers correctly represent the wants, wishes, and feelings of the native population, they would be valuable as an indicator and exponent of that which no Government can safely disregard. But it is unfortunately nearly the reverse, and the people are *taught* discontent and sedition, simply because the operation is found or considered likely to be a profitable and safe one.

5. To me it certainly appears, that this is a question of great and general importance. That I personally may be declared dishonest or worse by a newspaper-writer can be of no public moment, but that the highest public officers should be thus accused, that all sorts of imputations against the Government should be thrown out, and that these statements should be sedulously disseminated throughout the country, among the thousands whom the truth can never reach. All this constitutes, I cannot but believe, a public evil of the greatest magnitude, and one which must neutralise the best efforts of any Government.

6. And I would submit that it is not with reference merely to one small branch of the administration that this question must be considered. That which now affects but one (the Alienation) Department, may to-morrow affect any or all of the others, and probably will do so whenever a few unscrupulous or discontented individuals may consider such a course likely to fill their pockets, gratify their revenge, or effect their immediate personal object, whatever that may be. To continue to tolerate this, must surely sooner or later render the Government of this country impossible. I am anything but an advocate for stifling the press, on the contrary, I would encourage its legitimate operation by all practicable

means; for I am from long experience of opinion, that it can afford to those in authority valuable information and assistance seldom obtainable from other quarters. Widely different from this, however, is the systematic propagation of palpable mis-statement, directly calculated, if not intended, to render the people generally discontented, and prone to sedition. The certain effect of such publication must surely render its repression, by measures of any stringency required, necessary on the highest and clearest grounds of public policy.

On receipt of this letter Lord Elphinstone, then Governor of Bombay, wrote as follows on the 8th January, 1859 :—

1. I have no doubt that the passage which Captain Cowper has brought to our notice, in his letter of the 5th instant, is libellous, but it seems to me that the whole series of articles which the *Bombay Times* has lately published on the subject of the Alienation Department, is virtually a libel not only upon Mr. Hart and Captain Cowper, but on the Bombay Government and on the British Administration of India.

2. I entirely agree with Captain Cowper, that the publication of these articles which are translated in every native newspaper, and "disseminated throughout the country to thousands whom the truth can never reach" is an unqualified evil.

3. It is no light thing that a foreign Government should be constantly held up to the people in the most odious light, as passing iniquitous laws for the sole purpose of recruiting its dilapidated finances by systematic robbery and spoliation, nay, as even straining these very laws, perverting the decisions of former (native) Governments, and falsifying its own records for this object; yet this is precisely what has been distinctly stated and repeated in every number of the *Bombay Times* which I have seen for some time past.

4. I confess that I do not consider an action for libel as the proper remedy for this species of abuse; even if the action were successful, and if it had the effect of making the editor more careful and less personal in his attacks, it would not reach the real evil.

5. If the case was a solitary one, or if these mis-statements were confined to a single journal, I would willingly pass them over as unworthy of serious notice, but it is not so.

6. Captain Cowper says—"It is unfortunately true that the people are taught discontent and sedition simply because the operation is found or considered to be a profitable and safe one. To me it certainly appears

that this is a question of great and general importance; that I personally may be declared dishonest or worst by a newspaper-writer, can be of no public moment, but that the highest public officers should be thus accused, that all sorts of imputations against the Government should be thrown out, and that these statements should be sedulously disseminated throughout the country, among the thousands whom the truth can never reach, all this constitutes, I cannot but believe, a public evil of the greatest magnitude, and one which must neutralise the best efforts of any Government."

7. But it may be contended that it is only in cases where the Government is guilty of injustice, dishonesty, and oppression, that it has anything to fear from publicity; that the laws which are denounced in the *Bombay Times* are unjust, that the inquiry into the titles under which about one-third of the public revenue in this Presidency is held by private individuals, is oppressive and dishonest. I shall not be led away to discuss the conclusion, for I at once deny the premises, if indeed the natives of India were capable of weighing with impartiality the charges brought against their Rulers; if they could appreciate the motives of those who are constantly urging the Government to connive at the fraudulent appropriation of the revenue and to treat all claims to exemption from assessment, whether valid or invalid, alike, then indeed they would be fit for a free press; but I will add, they would be rife for self-government, for representative institutions.

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20. I have already, on a former occasion,[1] recorded my opinions on the subject of the unrestricted liberty of the Press in India. I am well aware of the unpopularity of those opinions, and nothing but a sense of duty could induce me to repeat them, and to call the attention of the Government of India to a danger which, I fear, it too rashly despises. I have no personal feeling in the matter. I have no private motive for wishing to impose restrictions upon the Press. My professions are all the other way. I admire a free Press as the natural complement and safeguard of free institutions; but I do not find that it exists or has ever existed elsewhere than in India without them. I feel certain that it must be necessarily antagonistic to an absolute government and to a foreign domination. I cannot doubt that for a long time to come, the Government of this country must be an absolute Government. I believe that the continuance of the

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[1] Lord Elphinstone's Minute, dated 24th June, 1857.

> British power in India is a positive, though not an unmixed good. I believe too that it is of far greater importance to India than to England, though both countries would lose immensely by the severance of the connection; and entertaining these convictions, I do not think that I should be justified in concealing them.

Lord Elphinstone's colleagues, the Hon'ble A. Mallet and H. W. Reeves concurred in the views expressed by him, and the latter considered that any measure adopted for the future administration of India must fail if unaccompanied by that of the censorship of the Press. The Bombay Government forwarded, on the 24th January, 1859, to the Governor-General of India, their above opinions with the letter from Captain T. A. Cowper quoted already. The Government of India replied thus to the Government of Bombay on the 22nd March 1859 :

> The Governor-General in Council concurs in much that is said in Lord Elphinstone's Minute regarding the evils inherent in a free Press under an absolute and foreign Government, but His Excellency in Council is not prepared to recommend the establishment of a censorship, as desired by the Hon'ble Mr. Reeves.
>
> With regard to the particular case referred by Captain Cowper, His Excellency in Council leaves it to the Government of Bombay to determine, after reference, if necessary, to the Advocate-General, whether it is expedient that Captain Cowper should be authorised to bring an action for libel in the Supreme Court against the publisher of the *Bombay Times.*

Since the above correspondence was sent to Lord Canning, further revelation made by Knight in the *Bombay Times*, brought an entire change in the opinion of Lord Elphinstone regarding Captain Cowper and his tribunal. Knight published his able and exhaustive exposure of the Inam Department with all haste in a pamphlet called the "Inam Commission Unmasked" which was dedicated to the Right Honourable Lord Stanley, first Secretary of State for India, and submitted to him. So great was the effect produced by this publication that Lord Elphinstone penned a confidential Minute in condemnation of Captain Cowper and his Department. This private Minute somehow reached Knight, and its publication in the *Bombay Times* created much sensation in the Bombay, Presidency and a perturbation in the Bombay Secretariat. The result of this exposure was the extinction of the Inam Commission, though not before much confiscation: the summary settlement took its place; under it Government resumed one-fourth the Inam and left the rest in the possession of the Inamdars.[1]

Next, Knight attacked the imposition of Income Tax in India in 1859-60. This measure was devised by the Right Honourable James Wilson, the first finance member of the Governor-General's Council, to restore equilibrium to the shattered finances of the Indian Empire. Finding the sources of Indian revenue to be inelastic, Wilson hit upon it as one of the expedients for refilling the exchequer, and as it violated nearly all the essentials laid down by economists as those of an equitable assessment, Knight published a powerful indictment of the policy of James Wilson. The measure evoked opposition throughout India for its novelty, and Knight, as an exponent of the Bombay opposition, addressed a series of letters publicly in his own name to the Finance Member, showing that there was no necessity for imposing the tax.

In the meantime some changes took place in the personnel of the Bombay Press. In the beginning of 1857

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[1] When Knight published the confidential Minute of Lord Elphinstone, the editor of the *Telegraph and Courier* (George Craig) who was a comic writer, announced that Knight was going to exhibit in a performance the story of "Ali Baba or the Forty Thieves" in which Ellis the Jew was to have an important part. This was in allusion to Sir B. H. Ellis who was once the head of the Inam Commission. The poor clerks in that branch of the Secretariat concerned with the subject matter were suspended for months. They often urged the Secretary to remonstrate and begged to be re-installed but in vain. One of them, bolder than the rest, asked why should he be so treated. Because, said the Chief, the papers had passed through their hands, and until they pointed out the offender, they must suffer. "Sir," rejoined the bold clerk, perhaps made desperate, "the papers also passed through your hands." "Yes, Mr.— ," replied good Mr. Ellis, "and if my superiors suspected me, they might similarly suspend me!" At last the men were reinstated; and one clerk from another department was dismissed on suspicion.

John Connon, editor and proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette,* went home leaving John Mawson to conduct the paper. Immediately after Dr. Buist was dismissed from the *Bombay Times,* the Scotchmen of Bombay held a meeting the day after his dismissal and privately subscribed capital sufficient to start another English daily newspaper; and in January 1858 a new paper called the *Bombay Standard* was started and Dr. Buist was appointed its editor. Matthias Mull was made manager of the new Bombay daily. Thus in the beginning of 1858 there were four daily newspapers published in Bombay—the *Bombay Times* edited by Robert Knight; the *Bombay Gazette* owned by John Connon; the *Telegraph and Courier,* a joint stock concern, edited by George Craig, and the *Bombay Standard* edited by Dr. George Buist. In November 1859 John Connon sent out J. M. Maclean[1] to edit his *Bombay Gazette.* In the next month Dr. George Buist retired from the editorship[2] of the *Bombay Standard,* and Matthias Mull, the manager of the paper, purchased it from the shareholders. About this time Robert Knight also purchased the *Bombay Times* from its Indian shareholders giving Matthias Mull a share. They incorporated therefore the two papers into one which, from the 1st January 1860, appeared as the *Bombay Times and Standard.* On May 18, 1861, the amalgamated paper abandoned its local name, and took the imperial name of the *Times of India* which it still bears. On the assumption of this title, Robert Knight wrote as follows:—

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[1] J. M. Maclean writes thus in his autobiography :—" In November 1859 when I had just completed my twenty-fourth year, I went to India and my connection with that country, with long intervals of time spent in England or on the Continent, lasted up to 1880. In India it became necessary for me to begin an entirely new life. Indian journalism in those days was passing through a transition stage. In Bombay Dr. Buist and Mr. Robert knight, two men of remarkable ability and original thought, had raised Indian journalism to a higher level and made it in Mr. Knight's words a " power in the Empire."

[2] In December 1859 Dr. George Buist was appointed by the Bombay Government a paid Municipal Commissioner in addition to two half-time commissioners, and retired from journalism. This was his final connection with the Indian Press. He became so rabid in his editorial utterances that he used to be called by his contemporaries as " Bloody Buist." One of them remarked of him " who was reported to carry all his landed property under his finger nails that he deserved to be rolled out flat in one of his own presses " for his anti-Indian feeling.

> After the existence of nearly a quarter of a century the *Bombay Times* this day loses its modest title to become the Imperial *Times of India.* We are not insensible of the disadvantages that attend the change; nor have we decided upon it without maturely weighing these disadvantages against the considerations that have led to its adoption. Among the foremost of these is the fact that Bombay is already the capital city of India, although not as yet the seat of the supreme Government. It is to the Bombay Press that the home public look for intelligence from all parts of India, and upon it must the Indian public wait at no distant period for the news of the world. The point of arrival and departure of all the mails; the centre of the great interest that binds the two countries together; Imperial in its resources whether for commerce or war; and the natural emporium and capital of Asia—there is a future before Bombay that the most sanguine cannot adequately forecast. While the city is Imperial, its Press has been hitherto, in title, only provincial, and in announcing ourselves as the *Times* of *India* we are simply undertaking to keep up with the march of events. Again, the purely local title we have hitherto borne, has hardly done justice to our circulation, which extends to every part of India, while the *Overland Summary*, of the *Bomba Times* is a paper with which people are familiar in every part of the world. For these and other considerations which may possibly suggest themselves to the reader, we have expanded into an Imperial title, and we wish our subscribers to understand the change to be a pledge that all we can do to make the journal worthy to bear it, will be done. The rapid increase in our subscription list affords gratifying proof that our exertions are appreciated, and it will be the steady effort of the proprietors to keep pace with, if they cannot surpass, the first expectations of the public.

In July, 1861 Knight and Mull purchased the *Telegraph and Courier* and amalgamated it with the *Times of India.* Knight in his reminiscences thus writes:—

> The modern Bombay Press dates from the year 1860 when Mr. Mull and I bought jointly the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Standard,* forming one paper of the two, under the title of the *Bombay Times and Standard.* The long title was an awkward one, and when in 1861 we

bought the *Telegraph and Courier*, the third paper we incorporated—we adopted as our title the *Times of India*, to the intense annoyance of the proprietors of the *Friend of India* (of Serampur, Bengal) who never condescended to recognise the change to the last days of their ownership of the *Friend*. The *Times of India* is beyond doubt a capital title, but the proprietors would probably never have adopted it, but that the public had become accustomed to the jingle 'of India' from the Serampur paper.

Sir George Birdwood in his reminiscences wrote thus:—

On my return to Bombay (in 1854) I promptly became acquainted with the leading journalists there, and took some share in journalism myself, contributing articles to the *Bombay Guardian* and other papers. I knew Dr. George Buist of the *Bombay Times*, the Rev. George Bowen [1] of the *Bombay Guardian*, and Mr. George Craig of the *Bombay Telegraph*. These three gentlemen and myself were called the Four Georges of the Bombay Press. And each of us, no doubt, thought himself George the first.

It was owing to a suggestion of mine that my friend the late Mr. Robert Knight, at that time editor and proprietor of the *Bombay Times*, and Mr. Matthias Mull, the proprietor of the *Bombay Standard*, amalgamated these two papers in one concern, to which Mr. Knight gave the happy title of the *Times of India* and engaged a brilliant staff of well-known British journalists. As a consequence that paper became a power, and its reputation was confirmed as a result of the action for libel brought against the proprietors for an exposure of the immoralities of the high priests of a Hindu sect known as the Vallabacharyas. Objection has been made to certain hierophallic practices in their temples. The rites were kept secret, but information on the subject was given to me by a wealthy Bombay merchant. He came to me in the dead of night, for he was mortally afraid of its being known that it was he who had revealed the facts. Well, the *Times of India* published a series of articles that were deliberately intended to provoke a libel action. As a result the practices were stopped. Sir Joseph Arnauld's speech in summing up the case as the presiding Judge is a most valuable store-house of information regarding the strange sect to which I have referred.

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[1] The *Bombay Guardian* was founded and edited by that remarkable religious ascetic, George Bowen, a man whose enthusiasm and fervour enabled him to combat almost continuous ill health and to be a zealous worker in the cause he loved till the end of his life. At a comparatively early age, he abandoned home and friends in America and set his face to the East where he was convinced his life-work lay. Few men, in the days I speak of, were so beloved and respected and none did more good service in the community to which he ministered.

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In 1860-61 the indigo riots broke out between European indigo planters and peasant cultivators of Bengal, and the Indigo Commission was appointed by Lord Canning to enquire into the system of indigo planting in Bengal and the relation between the planter and ryot. The planters attempted to alter one of the provisions of the Indian Penal Code, as to the description of breaches of contract which was to be dealt with as criminal, and out of this attempt arose a question which convulsed society in Bengal and was discussed with much violence and acrimony. During this commotion no Indian journal save the then *Hindu Patriot* stood up so manfully for the cause of the oppressed tenants as did Robert Knight as editor of the *Times of India.* His vigorous advocacy as well as the terrible exposures of the Indigo Commission obliged the India Office under Sir Charles Wood as well as the Government of India to deny altogether to the planters the special legislation for which they had cried out with so much persistency. Thus the criminal punishment sought to be inflicted upon the Bengal ryots for breach of contracts, by the European planters was refused and legally discountenanced.[1] During this period, the Rev. James Long of the Church Missionary Society of Bengal, published with a foreword, an English version of a Bengali drama called *Nil Darpan* or *Mirror of Indigo*, and a few copies of this translation were distributed by the Government of Bengal. Walter Brett, then editor of the *Englishman* of Calcutta, and Alexander Forbes as editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru* of Calcutta, prosecuted Long for defamation in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, on behalf of the Indigo Planters' Association, which resulted in Long's incarceration for a short term. Walter Brett was very bitter in his writings against the Bengal ryots, and systematically misrepresented the *Nil Darpan* pamphlet. Knight commented severely upon the conduct of men like Walter Brett. The following is a strong illustration :—

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[1] The subject has been fully described in chapter V of Algernon West's *Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs from 1859 to 1866.*

THE "ENGLISHMAN" OFFICE,
Calcutta, 21st August 1861.

To the Editor of the *Times of India*, etc.

Sir,—In your paper of the 10th instant, I see you have done me the honour to introduce my name in one of your leading articles, but you have chosen to attach to it, for reasons not apparent in the argument, a distinction to which as my name it has no claim. I do not know on what information you call me a *Hungarian*, but as it is entirely false, and I happen to be an Englishman, pure-bred and proud of my nationality, I do not approve of being so unnecessarily deprived of my birthright. I, therefore, look to you for the courtesy, which I have certainly given you no personal reason to depart from, and as this assertion is of a kind you can have no justification for having made, I shall be obliged by your taking such opportunity as you may deem fitting for contradicting your gratuitous assertion that I am an alien professing to be an Englishman.

I am, Sir, yours truly,
WALTER BRETT,
Editor of the "Englishman."

The following is the reply :—

"TIMES OF INDIA" OFFICE,
Bombay, 9th September, 1861.

Walter Brett, Esq.,

Editor of the "Englishman," Calcutta.

Sir,—I have ever understood that Calcutta is in doubt as to the country which claims the honour of your birth and was recently informed that the general information is that you are not an Englishman, but a Hungarian.

Under ordinary circumstances I would accept implicitly your assurance that you are an Englishman, and make the correction you ask for, but I put it to yourself whether I can place much reliance upon the statement of a writer who knowing well that his readers had no means of correcting his representations of the nature of the *Nil Darpan* (*Mirror of Indigo*) pamphlet, laboured for weeks to impress them with the belief that it is "an obscene and filthy production!" And with the same disregard for truth sent forth to the world a garbled account of the Judge's charge in the *Nil Darpan* defamation case against the Reverend Mr. James Long as a true and faithful report of his deliverance. Can I suppose that you would hesitate to mislead the public in the matter of your nationality any more than in the instances I have cited ?

I notice also that you make the mistake of characterising as *un-English* the moderation, forbearance and love of justice shewn by a portion of your contemporaries, and it is natural to suppose that your mistake arises from the fact that you are imperfectly acquainted with the national character.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
ROBERT KNIGHT.

As editor and proprietor of the *Times of India* Knight projected and successfully carried out the system of telegraphic communication between India and Europe. In March, 1862 messages of European public news received by the Overland Mail were accorded precedence of transmission over private messages, and later on in the year, this priority of transmission was extended to all Press messages of European news, irrespective of the channel through which they reached a telegraph office. This privilege was accorded on the understanding that the whole message was published immediately after receipt and that no use was made of the news before publication. Knight immediately took advantage of this privilege and established for the first time in India the *Times of India Telegraphic Service* which did immense good to Indian people. Thus he became the founder of the Indian Telegraphic Service which he afterwards sold to Messrs. Reuters, Ltd.

In 1862 Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, sent out to the Indian Government his memorable despatch sanctioning, under certain conditions, a Permanent Settlement for all India. Knight who was quite alive to the inelasticity of the Indian revenue policy, vehemently opposed the principles sought to be enforced in India by this despatch, and wrote thus in his reminiscences :—

> The *Mofussilite* assures us that inspite of our statement that the Permanent Settlement policy is definitely abandoned by Government the new leases in the North West Provinces are being made perpetual. The statement is confirmed by private information we have received from Simla to the effect that disastrous as the step is, the Government cannot go back, but must concentrate all its attention upon devising means "to make even a Permanent Settlement the source of progressive revenue." The necessity of arresting this course will, we trust, be sufficient excuse for the following somewhat personal narrative, as it is impossible for us to describe the exact position into which the question has now got without seeming to offend against good taste, perhaps, seeming to betray a confidence reposed in us. The fault, however, is not ours. Government instead of frankly avowing that the Despatch of 1862 was an error, as almost every member thereof now admits, and thus ending the difficulty by reversing its policy, is attempting to maintain the credit of its authors while looking in all directions for the means of so *interpreting* their work as to make it innocuous.
>
> When the Permanent Settlement Despatch of Sir Charles Wood issued from the India Office in 1862 it is the truth that there was but one dissentient voice publicly lifted against it—our own in the *Times of India.* We had combatted the delusion with our whole might seeing plainly then as almost every one sees now, that the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue really meant the permanent settlement of the *whole* revenue of India—land being the one source to which alone we can safely look for an income to meet the growing necessities of the state. Indian society changes so rapidly that few persons probably now remember how uncompromising and stubborn was the fight we maintained against an unanimous public opinion in favour of the settlement. None but ourselves know how many friends we alienated by the course we felt bound to take.
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> We do not of course mean that there were not those who saw as clearly as ourselves the error that was being made—for there were Sir

George Wingate and Mr. Mangles at home; many civilians at the Bombay Presidency, Mr. O'Sullivan (of the *Mofussilite*) then in Calcutta, and others gifted with clear insight saw as plainly as ourselves the ruinous nature of the step. But the *Times of India* was the rallying point of them all, and if we had given up the contest, the battle was over. The controversy had raged with varying fortune from the commencement of the century, and Sir Charles Wood's despatch was believed at last to have finally closed it. We have been told lately that we have no right to claim to ourselves the exclusive merit of having opposed the settlement. We have never dreamt of doing so. What we do lay claim to is that when every one else abandoned the contest as hopeless, we refused to despair, and continued to maintain what was regarded as a lost cause by every one but ourselves. Sir Alexander Grant, the present Principal of the Edinburgh University, was on the regular staff of the *Times of India* in 1861 and 1862, and was one of those whom we unfortunately alienated by our course upon this question. He went so far as publicly to lecture against us in the Town Hall of Bombay upon the subject, with Sir Bartle Frere in the chair to compliment him upon the support he had drawn from the Permanent Settlement of the *Indian* land tax by proving that the land tax of the Romans was one of the chief causes of the ruin of their Empire. In October, 1862, Sir Alexander, unable to reply to some fact we had sent him, wrote to us privately :—

> "I regard you as standing exactly in the position of the protectionists of 1845, who proved to demonstration that England would be ruined by the repeal of the Corn Laws. At all events you must be content to be the Cassandra of the land tax, for nothing is clearer than that the battle is already now on the other side."

The *Delhi Gazette* in the same month told us that we "had better do as Sir Robert Peel did about free trade: come round with the rest of the sensible part of the country and acknowledge *tempora mutantur et nos mutantur in illis.*" The merit we claim to is that we refused to come round with the "sensible part of the country." We accepted the position assigned us as the "Cassandra" of the question, for we never doubted what could be the ultimate reason while those who had fought side by side with us despaired and gave up the contest. One of the most discouraging feature of the position was the fact that the English Press which but a few months before had unanimously condemned the alienation of the Waste Lands of the country, were all suddenly converted to this far worse folly without the least suspicion of the revolution which the step involved in

Indian finance. We say that our merit is, that while all others abandoned the conflict in despair, we maintained it with courage and determination. It is easy now that the battle is won on the *right* side, to forget the extremities under which it was fought from 1862 to 1864. Thus the present Editor of the *Times of India*[1] now so eloquent a defender of the truth, was about the most rabid of the revolutionary party in those days. Sir Charles Wood's despatch, according to this gentleman, did not go half far enough. It was vitiated and discredited by the impracticable condition of a universal reassessment. Had the writer's suggestion been followed, the Land Revenue of the country would have been fixed for all time at the assessment rates being levied in 1862. Sir Charles Wood's most reasonable—and fortunate as it turned out—order, that the land should be everywhere reassessed before the tax was permanently settled, was fatal procrastination in the eyes of this gentleman, who to-day is a Hebrew of the Hebrews in his orthodoxy upon the question. Our merit, we say, is that we refused to despair, and that when others abandoned the contest as hopeless we maintained it in the full conviction that time alone was required to open men's eyes to the error that was being committed.

(*To be continued*)

S. C. SANIAL

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[1] William Martin Wood.

RUSSIA'S SINISTER PLOT TO EXPLOIT CHINA [1]

Ostensibly, Soviet Russia's intermittent quarrel with Chang Tso-lin, actual ruler of Manchuria, is over the control of the Eastern Chinese Railway. In reality it is over the question: Who shall be the mistress of North Manchuria and Mongolia—China or Russia? North Manchuria comprises some 242,800 square miles, two-thirds of the whole of Manchuria; Mongolia has an area of 1,368,000 square miles. A dispute that involves the destiny of so vast a territory, if permitted to wax into a serious conflict, is bound to draw many a third power into it. It is not entirely inconceivable that the country where Russia and Japan were locked in titanic struggle twenty years ago may some day become a scene of greater conflict.

China, of course, is more than a third party to this quarrel. She is, in fact, a co-party with Chang Tso-lin, for Manchuria and Mongolia, though at present semi-independent, are regarded by her as part and parcel of her own dominion. However hostile toward Chang Tso-lin China's Central Government may be in domestic politics, it must perforce cast its lot with him, once a common enemy, a foreign power, threatens its territorial integrity.

Behind the scene of this quarrel stands the anxious figure of Japan, praying that the situation will never develop in such a way as to compel her to take sides with either party. For she fears that her entrance into the fray might prove a signal for world conflagration. For her the safest and perhaps only course would be to restrain both Russia and Chang Tso-lin by friendly mediation so as to forestall the development of their disagreements into open warfare. This, in fact, is what Japan has in the present case endeavoured to do, and the endeavour has not been entirely in vain. For the time being, the war cloud has been dispelled from the Manchurian horizon; what the future may have in store no one knows.

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[1] Reprinted from *Current History*, March, 1926.

The immediate cause which provoked the recent conflict at Harbin is simple enough. Ever since Chinese soldiers under Chang Tso-lin replaced the Russian guards along the Eastern Chinese Railway in March, 1920, the Manchurian war lord has demanded the privilege of free passage for these soldiers. As a matter of fact, the Chinese railway guards seldom paid fares. To this practice the Russian manager of the railway constantly objected, insisting that the Chinese guards, like ordinary passengers, must pay for their tickets. There was another disagreement. General Chang, in moving his troops (not railway guards) on the Eastern Chinese Railway, has claimed the privilege of not paying their fares at the time of their embarkation, but of settling accounts with the railway management at a future time more convenient to him. In other words, he wanted the railway to allow him a period of grace. It is quite conceivable that this period has often been prolonged to suit General Chang's convenience. Naturally, the Russian railway authorities disapproved this practice and asked General Chang to pay more promptly, or preferably in advance, for the transportation of his troops.

As long as the Manchurian General was in the prime of his power the Soviet authorities dared not enforce their will. When his prestige met a setback as a result of his recent campaign against his rebel lieutenant Kuo Sung-ling, the Soviets thought the time opportune to settle the old score. Contrary to their expectation, General Chang countered their mandate with a coup, arresting Mr. Ivanov, the Soviet manager of the railway, and insisting upon the continuance of the former practice as to payment of fares. On Jan. 25 General Chang, lending ear to counsels of moderation from various sources, released Ivanov on the following conditions;

(1) That Chinese railway guards, when travelling on duty, shall enjoy free passage; (2) that they shall pay fare when not on duty; and (3) that payment for the transportation of troops may not be made in advance but shall be made as promptly as possible after the date of transportation.

Thus was the incident occasioned, and thus was it closed. But the root of the trouble, as I have already intimated, lies much deeper in the soil of traditional antagonism between Russia and China. To view this antagonism through proper perspective we must go back to the Aigun treaty of 1858. Prior to that year China claimed suzerainty over what is to-day the Russian territory known as Transbaikal, Amur and Maritime provinces, aggregating some 659,000 square miles.

HISTORY OF RUSSIA'S ENCROACHMENTS.

By the Aigun treaty Russia annexed a grater part of that region—the section stretching between the Stanovoi ranges and the Amur River. Two years later Russia scored another diplomatic coup in the signing of the Peking treaty, obliging China to forfeit the rest of the aforesaid region, namely, the section lying between the Amur River and the Japan Sea. In 1895 Count Cassini, Russian Minister to Peking, wrested from China a celebrated convention, laying a foundatian for the Russian domination of Manchuria. In the year following, Russia obtained the right to build a railway of some 930 miles through North Manchuria—the Eastern Chinese Railway now involved in dispute between Soviet Russia and China. Along the railway thus built Russia had the right to station soldiers at the maximum rate of 15 per kilometer. Before the Russian revolution of 1917 the guards along the Eastern Chinese Railway consisted of four brigades, which, roughly, comprised 55 companies each of infantry and cavalry and a company of artillery—all in all about 26,680 officers and men, Those were happy days when the Czarist empire was at the zenith of its grandeur. Manchuria had, to all intents and purposes, become Russian territory, and the Russian officers and soldiers, puffed up with a consciousness of power and authority, often treated the natives as though they were the scum of earth. Their arrogance and brutality were a constant source of irritation and indignation to the Chinese. These facts must be borne in mind in order to understand the Chinese attitude toward the Russians in Manchuria since the Russian revolution in 1917.

That revolution turned the tables in favour of China. It loosened Russian hold upon the Eastern Chinese Railway, and offered the long-awaited opportunity for the Chinese to make inroads into its management. The Chinese Government, in its efforts to regain its rights in North Manchuria, had to rely upon Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian chieftain, for its authority did not extend beyond the Great Wall, or even beyond the gates of Peking. When, in March, 1920, the Russian guards along the Eastern Chinese Railway mutinied and refused to perform their duties, General Chang, at the request of the Peking Government, disarmed them and replaced them with his own men. The Russians then found reason to regret their arrogance toward the Chinese in their palmy days. For the Chinese, long chafing under Russian domination, did not fail to give vent to their pent-up feeling of revenge. It was a regrettable case of an eye for an eye.

In October, 1920, the Chinese Government, after successful negotiations with the Russo-Asiatic Bank (formerly Russo-Chinese Bank, really a French concern, which financed the building of the Eastern Chinese Railway), issued an ordinance allowing itself much greater authority than before in the management of the railway. By virtue of it, China appointed five directors for the Eastern Chinese line, while the other five were appointed by the Russo-Asiatic Bank. It also created four departments for the railway, each having a

Russian chief and a Chinese assistant chief. Other officials were to be chosen impartially from among Russians and Chinese. This was a great victory for China, because under the old arrangement her authority over the railway was only nominal. The Russians thus appointed by the Russo-Asiatic Bank were "Whites" or conservatives, remnants of the Czarist or the Kerensky régime. The Chinese officials, though technically appointees of the Peking Government, were in reality chosen with the tacit approval of General Chang Tso-lin, who considered Manchuria exclusively under his jurisdiction.

Soon after this arrangement was made, dissatisfaction was expressed on all sides, particularly by the Russians, over the obvious inefficiency and possible corruption of the Chinese officials and over the unruly conduct of the Chinese railway guards. There were some 180,000 Russians living in North Manchuria. Some of them organized in Harbin, the Russian metropolis in that country, what was known as the Association for the Recovery of Russian Rights. This society, in one of the pamphlets issued by it, bitterly criticized the irregularities and incapacity of the Chinese wing of the railway administration, and enumerated six hundred cases in which Chinese railway guards attacked Russian railway officials without provocation, or subjected Russian residents in the railway zone to brutality and extortion. The Russians in Manchuria in those days were mostly "Whites."

SOVIET RESOLVED TO HOLD RAILROAD.

Meanwhile "Red" Russians were casting coquettish glances now toward Peking, now toward Mukden, the seat of the Chang Tso-lin Government. To win Chinese friendship, they held out tempting offers, intimating in no equivocal terms that they were ready to give up all the rights, including the Eastern Chinese Railway, obtained by Czarist Russia.

Their word was for a time taken at face value by both Peking and Mukden. But their hopes were destined to be blighted. It soon became evident that the Soviet promises were but empty words, and that Bolshevist Russia had no intention of abandoning the railway and other important rights in Manchuria. To-day Russia is even scheming to cover North Manchuria with a network of new railways.

Russia's determination to cling to the Eastern Chinese Railway is obvious in the provisions of the treaty she concluded with the Peking Government in May, 1924, and the text of which will be found at the end of this article. It recognizes China's right to purchase the railway, but inhibits her from raising any foreign loan, not Russian, for the exercise of that right. Moreover, the manager of the railway was to be a Russian, while three of five auditors were to be appointed by the Soviet Government. True, the Board of Directors was to consist of five Chinese and five Russians, an equal representation. But the real power of railway management rested with the general manager and the Board of Auditors.

By concluding the above agreement with Peking, the Soviets hoped to oust the "White" or conservative Russians from the administration of the Eastern Chinese Railway, and to put its control entirely in their own hands. But no treaty so seriously affecting Manchuria could be put into effect without the approval of General Chang Tso-lin, who had declared himself and Manchuria independent of the Government at Peking. The Soviet bowed to the inevitable, and in September of the same year entered into a separate agreement with Chang Tso-lin, thus adding strength to the Manchuria's claim for independence. [The text of this second treaty is published at the end of this article.]

Armed with the new treaty with the Mukden war lord, the Soviets forthwith proceeded to force the "White" elements out of the railway administration. Although General Chang had no sympathy with the Soviet régime, he was somehow coaxed to connive at this measure of ejection. Thus the Soviets, in October, 1924, were enabled to arrest and imprison Ostromonv, "White" manager of the railway, and a number of his colleagues and assistants, and to fill their posts with "Reds."

Nevertheless, General Chang Tso-lin was naturally sympathetic toward the "Whites." When, in May, 1925, Mr. Ivanov, the new Soviet manager of the railway, took steps toward the wholesale dismissal of "White" officials and employees of the railway, General Chang dispatched to Harbin a large contingent of troops to nip the scheme in the bud. Had the Soviets felt themselves powerful enough to cope with Chang they might have resorted then and there to the arbitrament of the sword. They were not then ready to strike a blow.

FRANCE, AMERICA, JAPAN INTERESTED.

Meanwhile interested powers watched the developments of the railway situation with no small apprehension. France was particularly concerned with Soviet inroads into the management of the railway. She contended, as she still does, that the Eastern Chinese Railway came into existence by virtue of an agreement concluded between the Chinese Government and the Russo-Chinese (now Russo-Asiatic) Bank, of which the majority of stock was owned by French capitalists, and that any agreement regarding the ownership or management of the railway made without French consent was invalid.

The United States and Japan are also interested in the question, for in the years 1918-20 they advanced $5,000,000 each to the Eastern Chinese Railway. In addition, the South Manchuria Railway Company, a Japanese concern, has advanced several million dollars for the upkeep of the line.

It was because of these international interests that the Washington Conference of 1921-22 saw fit to adopt a resolution declaring that the present condition of the railway required " a more careful selection of the personnel to secure efficiency of service and a more economical use of funds to prevent waste of the property," and also insisting " upon the responsibility of China for performance or non-performance of the obligations toward the foreign stockholders, bondholders and creditors."

How Japan and the United States advanced $5,000,000 each to the Russian railway in Manchuria may be briefly told. The loans were made as an outcome of the interallied intervention in Siberia from August, 1918, to the Spring of 1920. The Allies, finding the Russian railways in a chaotic state, had to devise some means to keep the roads open. For that purpose they organised at Harbin, Manchuria, an interallied railway technical board, presided over by Colonel John F. Stevens, an American engineer, and consisting of one representative each of Japan, England, France, Italy, Russia and Czechoslovakia. It was to enable this committee to keep up the operation of the Russian lines that Japan and the United States were obliged to shoulder the necessary financial burden, as the other allied powers were not prepared to contribute any sum toward the enterprise.

To-day the Eastern Chinese Railway is comparatively small part of a great problem. The problem that is of the foremost concern to the powers, particularly Japan and China, is whether Manchuria shall be permitted to become "Red," as Mongolia already has become. Indications are not lacking that Soviet Russia is intent upon clipping the colonial wings of the powers, including China, not by the highhanded methods of the Czarist Empire, but by the subtle methods of propaganda. M. Boubonov, chief of the Political Department of the Red army, addressing the annual meeting of the Communist Party in December, 1925, said:

> The nationalistic movement in the Far East, awakened by us in 1925, has reached its climax. The population of Russia, India, China and other

colonial countries combined is larger than the population of the rest of the world. The organization of the colonial revolution has consequently become the chief task of the Soviet Government, especially because the revolutionary wave in Western Europe has receded. On this point no divergence of opinion is possible, everything must be consecrated for the development of the revolutionary movement in the Far East.

There is reason to believe that this represents the general policy of the Moscow Government. This policy has already borne fruit in Mongolia.

A RED REPUBLIC IN MONGOLIA.

Rusisan ambition in that country is an old story. In 1911 the Czar, taking advantage of the Chinese revolution established a suzerainty over Mongolia. The Soviet Government, so far from renouncing this Czarist policy, has tightened its hold upon that territory. Under the aegis of clearing the country of "White" forces, the Soviet Government in 1921 sent an army into Urga, the Capital of Mongolia, and for four years refused to withdraw it, in defiance of repeated Chinese protests. By 1925, when the Soviets at last removed the Red army from Mongolia, the Mongolian army had already been drilled and officered by the Reds, and had been provided with "Red" arms and munitions. There had been established an autonomous Mongolian Government which no longer recognized China's authority, which sent its "diplomatic" representatives to Moscow. A Mongolian national bank had been organized under "Red" management, giving the Soviets a financial control over the country. The "Constitution" drawn by the "Reds" proclaims Mongolia "to be a republic of independent people, its entire administrative power belonging to the working people of the country." Article 13 of the Constitution boldly declares :

In view of the efforts being made by the working people of various countries in the world for the destruction of capitalism and realization of communism, the Mongolian Republic of the working people shall exert its utmost to cooperate with them for the promotion of the fundamental object common to small nations diplomatically tyrannized, and to revolutionary working people throughout the world.

The Soviets, to set up a "republic" of workers in a country still in the pastoral or nomadic stage, must indeed be extraordinary humorists. But the humorous scheme has serious aspects. Great Britain views with apprehension the growing sovietization of Mongolia, for that spells a menace directly to the British position in Tibet and indirectly to British rule in India. The British expedition to Tibet under Colonel Younghusband in 1912, and the various British enterprises that followed, were undertaken to counteract Czarist encroachment upon Mongolia in 1911. England is just as fearful of "Red" control as it was of "White" suzerainty over the land of the "Living Buddha."

A THREAT TO JAPAN.

The consolidation of the Soviet position in Mongolia is bound to strengthen the Russian hold upon North Manchuria —a fact of which Japan cannot help but take cognizance, for North Manchuria is a step to Korea. It is, therefore, only natural that Japan should welcome the establishment of a buffer such as is provided by the Chang Tso-l in régime at Mukden. And yet Japan, having entered into diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, has been unable to extend to Chang Tso-lin such material aid as has been coveted by him. She is afraid, moreover, that such assistance, if given, might be used by Chang against his political enemies, as well as against the Soviets. The Manchurian war lord, impatient with Japan's lukewarm attitude, is reported to have approached England for help. He knows that England dislikes his rival, Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian General," for his anti-British activities. Whether England has been coaxed to lend ear to Chang's appeals is not known. It is possible that rumours of deals consummated by Chang with Great Britain are only part of propaganda spread by Chang Tso-lin himself for the purpose of stirring Japan. Due to the fact that 170,000 Japanese live under his jurisdiction, and that they have established enormous economic enterprises in his territory, the Manchurian General is in a peculiarly advantageous position in dealing with Japan and he has not hesitated to capitalize this position to advance his own interests. Obviously Japan is in an embarrassing and delicate position. To help General Chang against Russia or against his political enemies would be impossible; yet to antagonize him would be to hamper, not to say jeopardize, Japanese enterprises in South Manchuria. It is a difficult role which Japan is required to play in Manchuria—to be friendly with Chang Tso-lin, yet to deny him the assistance he asks, and asks persistently.

Text of the Peking-Moscow Agreement Relative to the Eastern Chinese Railway signed May 31, 1924.

The Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics mutually recognizing that, inasmuch as the Chinese Eastern Railway was built with capital furnished by the Russian Government and constructed entirely within Chinese territory, the said railway is a purely commercial enterprise, and that, excepting for matters appertaining to its own business operations, all other matters which affect the rights of the Chinese National and Local Governments shall be administered by the Chinese authorities, have agreed to conclude an agreement for the provisional management of the railway with a view to carrying on jointly the management of the said railway until its final settlement at the conference as provided in Article II of the Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 31, 1924, and have to that end named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Excellency the President of the Republc of China: Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo;

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Lev Mikailovitch Karakhan;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I—The Railway shall establish, for discussion and decision of all matters relative to the Chinese Eastern Railway, a Board of Directors to be composed of ten persons, of whom five shall be appointed by the Government of the Republic of China and five by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Government of the Republic of China shall appoint one of the Chinese Directors as President of the Board of Directors, who shall also be the Director-General.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall appoint one of the Russian Directors as Vice President of the Board of Directors, who shall also be the Assistant Director-General.

Seven persons shall constitute a quorum, and all decisions of the Board of Directors shall have the consent of not less than six persons before they can be carried out.

The Director-General and Assistant Director-General shall jointly manage the affairs of the Board of Directors and they shall both sign all the documents of the Board.

In the absence of either the Director-General or the Assistant Director-General, their respective Governments may appoint another Director to officiate as the Director-General or the assistant Director-General (in the case of the Director-General, by one of the Chinese Directors, and in that of the Assistant Director-General, by one of the Russian Directors.)

Art. II—The Railway shall establish a Board of Auditors to be composed of five persons, namely, two Chinese Auditors, who shall be appointed by the Government of the Republic of China and three Russian Auditors who shall be appointed by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Chairman of the Board of Auditors shall be elected from among the Chinese Auditors.

Art. III—The Railway shall have a Manager, who shall be a national of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and two Assistant managers, one to be a national of the Republic of China and the other to be a national of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The said officers shall be appointed by the Board of Directors and such appointments shall be confirmed by their respective Governments.

The rights and duties of the Manager and the Assistant Managers shall be defined by the Board of Directors.

Art. IV—The Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of the various departments of the Railway shall be appointed by the Board of Directors.

If the Chief of Department is a national of the Republic of China, the Assistant Chief of Department shall be a national of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Assistant Chief of Department shall be a national of the Republic of China.

Art. V—The employment of persons in the various departments of the Railway shall be in accordance with the principle of equal representation between the nationals of the Republic of China and those of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. VI—With the exception of the estimates and budget, as provided in Article VII of the present agreement, all other matters on which the Board of Directors cannot reach an agreement shall be referred for settlement to the Governments of the contracting parties.

Art. VII—The Board of Directors shall present the estimates and budget of the Railway to a joint meeting of the Board of Directors and the Board of Auditors for consideration and approval.

Art. VIII—All the net profits of the Railway shall be held by the Board of Directors and shall not be used pending a final settlement of the question of the present railway.

Art. IX—The Board of Directors shall revise as soon as possible the statutes of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, approved on Dec. 4, 1896, by the Czarist Government in accordance with the present agreement and the Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 31, 1924, and in any case, not later than six months from the date of the constitution of the Board of Directors. Pending their revision, the aforesaid statutes, in so far as they do not conflict with the present Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and do not prejudice the rights of sovereignty of the Republic of China, shall continue to be observed.

Art. X—The present agreement shall cease to have effect as soon as the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway is finally settled at the conference as provided in Article II of the Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the question between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 31, 1924.

Art. XI—The present agreement shall come into effect from the date of the signature.

Text of the Agreement between the Soviet Government and the Mukden (Chang Tso-Lin) Government, signed Sept. 23, 1924.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Autonomous Three Eastern Provinces of the Republic of China, desiring to promote the friendly relation and regulate the questions affecting the interests of both parties, have agreed to conclude an agreement between the two parties, and to that end named as plenipotentiaries, that is to say :

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ;

The Government of the Autonomous Three Eastern Provinces of the Republic of China :

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1.—THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties agree to settle the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway as hereinafter provided :

(1) The Governments of the two Contracting Parties declare that the Chinese Eastern Railway is a purely commercial enterprise.

The Government of the Contracting Parties declare that with the exception of matters pertaining to the business operations which are under the direct control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, all other matters affecting the rights of the National and the Local Governments of the Republic of China, such as judicial matters, matters relating to civil administration, military administration, police, municipal government, taxation and landed property (with the exception of lands required by the Chinese Eastern Railway itself) shall be administered by the Chinese Authorities.

(2) The time-limit as provided in Article XII of the Contract of Aug. 2 for the construction and Operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway

of Sept. 8, 1896, shall be reduced from eighty to sixty years, at the expiration of which the Government of China shall enter gratis into possession of the said Railway and its appurtenant properties.

Upon the consent of both Contracting Parties, the question of a further reduction of the said time-limit (that is, sixty years) may be discussed.

From the date of signing the present agreement, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees that China has the right to redeem the Chinese Eastern Railway. At the time of redemption, the two Contracting Parties shall determine what the Chinese Eastern Railway had actually cost, and it shall be redeemed by China with Chinese capital at a fair price.

(3) The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to a Commission to be organized by the two Contracting Parties to settle the question of the obligations of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company in accordance with Section IV of Article IX of the Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of China signed on May 31, 1924, at Peking.

(4) The Government of the two Contracting Parties mutually agree that the future of the Chinese Eastern Railway shall be determined by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China to the exclusion of any third party or parties.

(5) The Contract for the Construction and Operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway of Aug. 27, Sept. 8, 1896, shall be completely revised, in accordance with the terms specified in this agreement, by a Commission of the two Contracting Parties in four months from the date of signing the present agreement. Pending the revision, the rights of the two Governments arising out of this contract, which do not prejudice China's rights of sovereignty, shall be maintained.

[Sections 6 to 15 of this article are in substance the same as Articles 1 to X of the Peking-Moscow treaty printed above.]

ARTICLE II.—NAVIGATION.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties agree to settle, on the basis of equality, reciprocity and the respect of each other's sovereignty, the question relating to the navigation of all kinds of their vessels on those parts of the rivers, lakes and other bodies of water, which are common to their respective borders, the details of this question to be regulated in a

Commission of the two Contracting Parties within two months from the date of signing the present Agreement.

In view of the extensive freight and passenger interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the River Sungari up to and including Harbin, and the extensive freight and passenger interests of China on the lower Amur River into the sea, both Contracting Parties agree, on the basis of equality and reciprocity, to take up the questions of securing the said interests in the said Commission.

ARTICLE III.—BOUNDARIES.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties agree to redemarcate their boundaries through a Commission to be organized by both Parties, and, pending such redemarcation, to maintain the present boundaries.

ARTICLE IV.—TARIFF AND TRADE AGREEMENT.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties agree to draw up a Customs Tariff and conclude a Commercial Treaty in a commission to be organized by the said Parties on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

ARTICLE V.—PROPAGANDA.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties mutually pledge themselves not to permit within their respective territories the existence and/or activities of any organizations or groups whose aim is to struggle by acts of violence against the Government of either Contracting Party.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties further pledge themselves not to engage in propaganda directed against the political and social systems of either Contracting Party.

ARTICLE VI.—COMMISSIONS.

The Commissions as provided in the Articles of this Agreement shall commence their work within one month from the date of signing this Agreement, and shall complete their work as soon as possible and not later than six months. This does not apply to those Commissions whose time-limits have been specified in the respective Articles of this Agreement.

ARTICLE VII.

The present Agreement shall come into effect from the date of signature.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Agreement in duplicate in the Russian, Chinese and English languages, and have affixed thereto their seals.

In case of dispute, the English text shall be accepted as the standard.

Done at the City of Mukden this—Day of— One Thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-four, which is the

—Day of the Month of—the Thirteenth year of the Republic of China.

K. K. KAWAKAMI

EX LIBRIS : AMERICA

I

There are two prime considerations in writing, style and the quality of language used, and content of thought. In some instances, the latter may be so great as to rise above the former, subject matter having the predominant effect upon the brain. Words and sentences when well formed, on the other hand, prove to be delightful. It is when the two—language and content—are harmonious, that we find charming literature.

If one were to approach the field of writing without previous preparation what would be his estimate of the books he meets on every hand ? If one could survey the field without bias to what would he atribute the worthwhileness of one book, and the insipancy of another ? It is said that we judge matters by three means, one the authority of the past, another by logic, and a third by experience.

Is it possible, or even imaginable that we might strip a person of his knowledge of the past ? Could a human being regard himself as a lone figure upon a desert whose sands are the many books extant to-day, and attempt to judge books by their inherent values alone ?

This question is equivalent to another—has literature distinctive characteristics which are pertinent to it exclusively and not to individual taste ? Do good books have qualities that are recognizable through comprehension and not because the consensus of opinion (authority of the past) gives them such qualities ?

An average individual when asked why a book is good, or why it is considered classic literature, will become confused. He will tell you in an offhand manner, that the *Republic* of Plato is—to be sure !—an excellent study of Government; he will tell you *Anna Karenina* is a great novel, because Tolstoi was a great novelist; he will tell you—what will he not tell you ? But ask him to imagine himself divorced of his knowledge of the opinion of others, and he will be stupefied.

There are many reasons why books live and why certain books pass into oblivion. One authority [1] has written : " Literature might be defined as the verbal artistic expression of the experiences of humanity." (The third means of judgment as stated above). "In it, therefore, are to be found reflections of life, life of the individual, of the group, of the family, of friends, of towns, of cities, of nations—even life international. The life of the individual is so complex that, unless he be a Robinson Crusoe, his life must be colored by the experiences of others. Thus do we find in literature, reflections of social, political, religious, economic and the purely intellectual aspects of the day in which the author lives or the period he chooses to depict in his book. These various movements in the lives of individuals, groups, or nations, are composed not alone of the deeds of men...they embrace his aspirations, his hopes, his dreams, his emotions—happy or unhappy—and all, in fact, that he thinks, feels and does, and thus do we find literature appealing to experience."

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[1] Mildred Connelly, Detroit Teachers College, U. S. A,

Such a novelist of social experience was Dickens. Another is Dostoievsky, another Tolstoi.

Many books are judged from combined standpoints, for instance from the joint point of view of logic and experience. For instance *The Prince* of Machiavelli, or Bryce's *The Holy Roman Empire.* These are history true, but history is only the written record of vast social movements.

Lafcadio Hearn, eminent student of literature that he was, claims that style is not achieved. That it is part of the subject matter, and that it is so closely related with it that it may not be separated. The two are one and may not be considered apart. There could not be style without subject matter, and there could not be subject matter in writing which would not "style"—individualistic quality and form,

But there is a quality of style which would seem to be above subject matter, dropping over it as a cloak, and that is *beauty*. *Carcassonne* by Lord Dunsany, is symbolical. It is historical. It does not appeal to logic, but it is beautiful. It is so beautiful that one is stunned by the sheer beauty of its language. Again, in *Poltarnees, Beholder of Ocean* (Dunsany, also), one cares not for authority of the past or for logic or experience, but solely for beauty: and the appeal to imagination:

"And when the light of some little distant city makes a slight flush upon the edge of the sky, and the happy golden windows of the homesteads share gleaming into the dark, then the old and holy figure of Romance, cloaked even to the face, comes down out of the hilly woodlands and bids dark shadows to rise and dance, and sends the forest creatures forth to prowl and lights in a moment in her bower of grass the little glow-worm's lamp, and brings a hush down over the grey land."

Strictly, the appeal of such a passage is to experience, because beauty unrelated to personal experience would seem scarcely possible.

But the question of beauty brings one to a different triple group of qualities evident in literature. The first group concerned itself with the means of judgment; the second the substance on which it is based. Search as the author may, there seems to be little else outside the group of universality, truth and beauty which will enable a book to live. Even these are interrelated. Truth expressed in books may be universally recognized, or it may have only sectional avowal. Universality pertains to experience, and while fiction isn't truth it finds its appeal and meets its criterion in universality.

These questions are very interesting. They lead to unplumbed depths if one can separate himself sufficiently from what others have said about books to enjoy them for one's self. Columbus journeying to America had no greater surprise in store for him than he who picks up a book purely for the purpose of reading it and trying to find why it is considered "great." With these points in mind, let us turn to a new book on the American horizon, let us look at it in its essentials.

DR. TRANSIT

The author of *Dr. Transit* [1] is known as I. S. It is a novel that affected the writer of this article supremely, but which left a host of people cold...in fact affected so many people so adversely that it requires some little courage to step forth with this word of public approval.

The jacket of the book, gay in coloring, bears the following inscription:

"No age has been altogether without a mythology. This novel is perhaps the first effort to fix the myth of our time. In the very field which we have been accustomed to regard as safest from mythology—science—the author finds the contemporary myth, *Dr. Transit,* wonder-working scientist, in a strange house that is half laboratory and half hermit's cell, a mythological figure of the same order as Daedalus, the first Greek scientist, builder of the labyrinth of Crete......... The story deals with the sexual transformation of a young married couple, the man becoming a woman, the woman a man. The new woman is transformed into man again, and the remainder of the story deals with the latter's effort to carry on the work of Dr. Transit when he deserts it, lured by woman to his death."

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[1] Dr. Transit, I. S., Boni and Liveright, § Inc. New York, 2.00.

It is a story that is extraordinary and startling, but a story that is superb in the mastership of its setting, and that setting is language and thought.

The situation so delicately portrayed in the opening chapter moves on to an inevitable climax, logically and conclusively, gathering momentum. One cannot put the book down once the reading is begun. There are descriptions of plain objects, of elaborate objects, of simple situations, of the complex, there are descriptions—yes, but the delicacy of the book is in the *feel* of places, not in their reality. One comes again and again against the presence of a great city, referred to so many times concretely, but on inspection realizes that the city is not there, that its houses and towers have been erected but have no material existence—they are fluidic—the streets of the city run on unpaved to country fields. The city is imagined but one does not know it until one stops to think.

Dr. Transit's domicile-strange edifice that it is—is much more real than the metropolis in which it is stationed. At it, one looks in horror, and with terror regards the bizarre mechanical devices with which it is equipped.

The book—*Dr. Transit*—abounds in unforgettable phraseology, one example of which comes to mind now. John and Mary are tired. They are wending their weary way through the city streets on a journey homeward bound. The author does not tell us they walked. He does not tell they moved slowly or with fatigue. He gives us no motion at all save the feeling of a couple slowly starting forth until he comes to the part where " they catapulted like spent elastics homeward."

Dr. Transit, as we shall see later, is garmented with beauty. If it has no other claim to recognition—not truth, not experience, not universality—it has that. It happens that the name of "I.S." (the author) is known. One man writing of him said, " I .... S... ..... is one of the best poets in America. He is not getting the attention he deserves. One of his poems, Orientale, printed in *Rhythmus*, is, in my opinion, one of the most beautiful pieces of writing it has ever been my good luck to read. It has never ceased haunting me. Exquisitely romantic ! " I. S., poet and romanticist, has carried his poetry—his poetic feeling—into prose.

It is anomalous that poetic feeling and realism are contained in the same book, yet *Dr. Transit* is archly realistic. For many years there has been a growing realistic tendency in American literature.

Deviating from the immediate subject of *Dr. Transit*, let us look for a moment at this realistic trend. Many authors associate realism with the intimate life of the individual. Their pens are made offensive to the discreet and prudent reader, because of the shocking details they choose to bring forth. They wash soiled linens in public, and the result is called "realism" and is supposed to be a picture of the reality of life. They go to so great an extreme, indeed, that the decent acts of life are not "life;" they are mutations. That which is spoken of in the open, those movements of humanity which are public, are not "life," they are acts undertaken for the approval of the multitude.

Authors of such books as these have gone an untrammelled way, reaching successive pinnacles, descending again to a slough of writing the results of which cannot even be called literature, until mounting one upon the other we come to *Dr. Transit*, where again we have a pinnacle.

All this is true. There is no question of it. *Dr. Transit* is a part of just such a realistic movement, but it is here one comes to a difficulty. Many reviewers of this book have called it lascivious, many professional critics have spurned it as too much slime to be worthy of notice. Not only that, in some cases and in the cases of many of the book's readers the epithets concerning the book are meant to concern the author as well. There are—and must be—beyond peradventure of doubt—readers who have closed the covers of the book before they have reached the end. In their revolt against what they (stupidly) call sensual, a feeling look of horror is plain within their eyes.

But.........

And here is the point. *Dr. Transit* is more than realistic. It achieves that which many of the honest seekers of realism have sought through many novels. It is sensual, but it carries over its sensuality an abundant spirituality, so much so that one is reminded of the fact that usually the sensually minded will find sensuality wherever they look, and that the spiritually inclined will find spirituality where it is least expected.

Whatever the gauntlet thrown down by this challenge, *Dr. Transit* is spiritual.

Many of the passages are mental stimuli, of the deepest profundity. Many of them are shocking, terrifying, gripping, animating—but all are thought-producing, if one wishes to think. There is one passage which lingers in memory as more striking, perhaps, than others. It is this:

"I have dreamt of changing myself into a tree, letting myself fall as a redwood seed and grow deep and high, living thousands of lives, building them around my pith, warming myself with leaves and far snow, and housing birds, serpents, fungus and races of insects. It seemed to me that rooted thus, oblivious of time, the site of cities and strange gardens, spored in me, of the numberless creatures of the earth, I would somehow know the secret of life. I thought that this was perhaps the reason for a tree's immobility that containing the secret of life it does not need consciousness.

"I have dreamt of becoming frogs, the change from pisculi to tadpoles and then to frogs seemed to me one of the most fascinating of all careers; still more the butterfly, hatched out a worm with destroying appetite, growing so fast that it gave back no excrement until it was ready for its second incubation."

Who—with any imagination and poetic response—could not be stirred by such a passage?

Henry Thurston Peck, an American scholar who did a prodigious amount of work in the American literary world, wrote in an essay, the *Evolution of a Mystic.*[1]

"What is the psychological factor of the mysterious connection that exists between religious desire in man and the desire that is sensuous and even sensual? That there is some such relation it is impossible to doubt when we look into the records alike of literature and life."

These words might well have been written with *Dr. Transit* in mind. To include a discussion of the personality of an author in a discussion of his book, may savour of the argument *ad hominem,* but in this case it would not seem inappropriate.

It is erroneous to assume that because a man describes in the quest of another man the search for sexual satisfaction he is sensuous or even sensual, as Mr. Peck put it. It is as absurd as to say that a man who writes of ugliness is himself ugly, or that he is a worshipper of the grotesque and hideous.

One American—a surgeon—who read *Dr. Transit* and discussed its theme—(a woman's change to man, and a man's alteration to woman)—said, "It is absurd to think of woman wishing to be a man or a man wishing to be a woman. The author is concerned with an absurd subject."

The doctor, we believe, is wrong. We do not believe he has lived in, let us say, the Bohemian section of New York, where such questions are discussed, or even among young people whose minds are opening forth to the question: *why* are we? He had not come across in his experience women like Mary, who have been thrust into economic and political worlds to carry on an economic and political combat with a concomitant compulsion of motherhood, who dared to question the justice of such biologic responsibility. Yet the question asked in *Dr. Transit* is very much the same question asked by Ibsen in his dramas, the phase in this instance being but biologic where in the other it was social. Notwithstanding the surgeon and his dictum regarding the absurdity of I. S.'s theme, the problem in this book is a vital one and one that is discussed by those whose intellects are awakened, to such a discussion.

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[1] *The Personal Equation, Henry Thurston Peck, Harper and Bros.,* New York, 1898.

Because it is a problem that is discussed, it is one possessing truth (actuality) and *Dr. Transit* is therefore the possessor of a second of the qualities which make books live. The point on which it may fall down—and undoubtedly it will except for the very few—will be universality. Its appeal is too limited. Too few are concerned with the justice or injustice of biology toward women, or the concerns of a man who would reform the world and give it a superman. Too few are spiritually minded enough to see symbology where others see sensuousness.

Is there not a riddle in the relationship between men and women that is as profound as any problem that has ever presented itself to the mind of man? I. S. has felt this, and has dared to put the problem before us in a book, for it is not alone with woman's relationship to economics or man's relationship to communal welfare that the book deals with man's and woman's relationship to each other. I. S. has delved in realism, but he has tinged his realism with metaphysics. There would seem to be a point where sensuality, indeed, topples over into spirituality; there is something in this worth thinking about. Consummation because not an end in itself to be achieved, but an ever-continuing *summation*. It was something of this sort that Henry Thurston Peck meant when he wrote of the connection—the very close connection, and the writer believes it is much closer than many of us realize between the religious and the sensuous desires of humankind.

At the end of *Dr. Transit*, we find Jeremiah (who in the beginning was John, who was changed to a woman and then back again to man) at the threshold of the house of an old man. This incident is but one of a chain in the book, all of which are symbolic. It will serve to indicate the others. The old man is a roue and a despicable type. This old individual has in his house a bevy of young unmarried women. These women wait upon him with implicit obedience, and at his request wait upon the stranger—Jeremiah. As they serve Jeremiah, they look upon him longingly, his flesh is made the object of their desire, they are hungry for the joyous, healthful natural experiences of youth—and youth is represented here by Jeremiah. They have been imprisoned within age-old restrictions and cruel inhibitions; they are the attaches of a roue—who is society.

Jeremiah is attracted by their looks. They arouse him from his lethargy. Burningly within him comes a desire to free them from the old man's rapaciousness and greed, and he finds that the old man is willing to part with them providing he may retain in them his right of sovereign possession......in other words he is willing to *sell* them. Jeremiah agrees to the bargain, and the women are freed.

Jeremiah is a liberator. Jeremiah is an apostle of science ! Jeremiah opens wide the doors of society to freedom for these women. But there is one shortcoming. Jeremiah is scientific. Jeremiah typifies science, as the old man symbolizes society, and Jeremiah—poor man that he is—is unable to offer no more to the women save an essential freedom from superstitious fear. They must find out the rest for themselves. Unfortunately, they have been in the house of the old man for a long time. They do not know how to take steps alone. They look about helplessly, longingly, pitifully. The old man's right of possession in them remains in their inability to stand alone, and Jeremiah although opening the door to freedom is unable to lead the maidens past the threshold. He parts from them at this point, and they remain behind, groping, staring human beings. Science offers release, but not philosophy.

Jeremiah goes on to the fulfilment of the quest undertaken by Dr. Transit. He has turned many keys in many doors, but at no point does he give more than the bare result of scientific achievement. In the biggest quest of all he fails. This quest is to die, and at the same time—not to die. All search leads to the inevitable end, all science leads to the so-far unconquered problem—death. Jeremiah, dying, tries to hold the molecules of his flesh together through a supreme effort of the will until life should again rehabilitate the flesh. He succeeds for many days, but in the end a faint odour pervades the room wherein his body lies. He has failed. Decay, the only rehabilitator of life there is, steps in.

Jeremiah, pitifully enough, was unable to teach the women of the old man's domicile how to recover atrophied minds; he was unable to bring into function the attributes they had lost in slavery to society and the wills of men......and he was too preoccupied to care. This is one of the piteous myths of science that the jacket of the book claims is revealed.

Dr. Transit is a book as futuristic as the most futuristic painting. It is filled with suggestion and a profundity of thought that may not be apparent to all. By many it will be passed over as negligible. Many who read this review may be led to read the book; of that number the greater proportion will probably turn away and say there is nothing in it. But there is. There is!

The depths of a man's soul are not always depicted in his face, and so a book's depth may not always be caught with act of reading alone. It must be felt, dreamed, imagined......it must be a part of the reader, a part of his experience.

A word in closing about I. S., who the writer happens to know personally.

He is young, shy, hopeful, eager. He is trembling with life, and he is filled with sympathy toward the sufferings of human beings. He is searching for artistic and spiritual expression, and he is doing it in an environment that is marked with terrific economic struggle, as much a prisoner to society's demands as the beautiful women in the aged man's household.

Viola Irene Cooper

GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS IN NATURE

Evolution, as a logical process, appeals to the innate sense of order in man. Yet the theory contains pitfalls for the unwary if unduly limited to the material side of nature. For example, how is one to reconcile the fact that markedly human traits appear in mammals far removed from the Primates? As a general rule, domesticated dogs and cats display more conspicuous qualities of courage, fidelity and devotion towards their owners than do monkeys. The higher human attributes, unselfishness and intelligence, are becoming increasingly common amongst all kinds of domesticated animals—a question that deserves wider consideration, for it opens up new avenues of thought.

Anatomists agree that swift evolutionary progress is only possible to animals possessing a pre-frontal association area, that is, a " Neopallial Kinaesthetical area " in the brain. Once this stage has been achieved, definite mental pictures result. Memory of past actions will accompany the ability to plan ahead and foresee the next step. Conscience makes its voice heard. Such an animal is able to respond to all the vibrations of the concrete mind and an increased range of emotions come within its reach. It is well able to cope with the mental and emotional opportunities for advancement provided by association with man. Lovers of animals alone realise how closely their characters can approximate to those of *Homo sapiens.*

Professor F. Wood Jones deals with evolution of the brain in very interesting fashion in Arboreal Man. He writes :—

> " We may assume that, on the whole, it was the development of the *corpus callosum* and all its associated structures that gave the Eutherian brain its psychical as well as its anatomical distinction...... a true *corpus callosum*—the great cross-connecting bond of the two Neopallial areas—is

> the outstanding feature of the Eutherian brain, and is the index of its Neopallial perfection. Without Neopallial possibilities, educational advantages and physical perfections come in vain to the animal..."

He proceeds to remark that

> "Specialization of the cerebral architecture cannot proceed in the absence of, yet cannot create, physical specializations in evolutions....The earliest eutherian mammal possessed the cerebral condition which made it possible for it to take full advantage of the physical advance."

So much for anatomy.

The Darwin-Wallace theory of Natural Selection involves an elimination of the less fit variations and a preservation of the more fit ones by the struggle for existence. But undiluted Natural Selection affords an inadequate explanation for several problems.

How can one account for the divergence shown in the acquirement of human traits in cats and dogs—animals which are *not* qualifying for the privilege of inheriting the human form? It is only reasonable to look for an inner law of growth. One can only supplement the rigidity of the scientific concept of the descent of man by admitting its essential complement: the unfolding of consciousness on the life-side, underlying and influencing the evolution of form. The derivation of the word "nature," from the Latin *Natura* (becoming, from *nasci*, to be born) is of two-fold significance. May we not postulate a hidden basic cause with an evolution of its own on the inner side, and of which Natural Selection is an adaptive expression?

The group-soul theory seems to provide a main-spring for the whole evolutionary process. There are many factors of a quasi-psychological kind which lend support to this hypothesis, and are more or less inexplicable without it. Science has not yet been able to provide a satisfactory explanation of phenomena connected with the migration of birds, of "instinct" in general—the latter often being somewhat overstrained and made to cover a multitude of mysteries.

An acute observer like Seton Thompson in "Wild Animals I have known," remarks that they are "guided by a knowledge that is beyond us"—the sort of instinctual knowledge which causes the migrating flocks of birds to assemble and to fly in a straight line by night, returning after an interval of many months to the locality whence they started. The group-soul of the lemming appears to be a laggard in evolution, and doomed to extinction in consequence. It looks as if it would never learn to adapt itself to the knowledge that dry land which existed many thousands of years ago has disappeared. The geographical lesson once having been well assimilated by the ancestral memory, cannot be easily unlearnt or instinct altered, although thousands perish in mid-ocean.

We have to take into account another class of phenomena corresponding to the state of "crowd-consciousness." Its manifestations are seen in the stampeding of herds, etc., and are also associated with the conundrums offered by bee and ant communities. E. A. Barton cites instances in connection with fish in last October's *Salmon and Trout Magazine.* To alarm a single chubb in a shoal is to cause the instantaneous disappearance of the whole shoal. The organization of dinner time illustrates this sort of consciousness in some fishes, including perch. On certain days all begin to feed together as by a common impulse and cease as suddenly at a given moment. Similar activity is also seen at work in schools of porpoises ploughing their way through the sea in a long straight line, while rising out of the water and falling back into it in perfect rhythm, like the beat of a pulse: a never-to-be-forgotten sight.

Dr. Barton labels these forms of collective activity "mass control"—rather an evasive term, because it does not specify the point of origin of the control; 'group-soul' or 'group-consciousness' seems therefore preferable for common use.

Incidentally, a fish possesses a brain which is too small for its bony encasement. Romanes compares their emotional capacity to that of an ant or a four-month old infant. At this low level of development, the ensouling consciousness of shoals, etc., would include enormous numbers of life-entities; the numbers would diminish by differentiation into sub-divisions representing species and genera. Of course, mass-consciousness must be regarded as a persistent principle, co-operating with the external law.

When considering the foregoing instinctual phenomena, one needs to hold the mental attitude advocated by Huxley in those well-known words of his: "Sit down before a fact as a little child, be prepared to give up every pre-conceived notion, and follow humbly wherever and to whatsoever abysses Nature may lead." For a start it may be worth while to see where Plato leads, by following up certain clues to this subject given in the *Timaeus*. He hints that the imperishable seeds or germs of imperishable "Ideas" in the universal mind of spirit were apportioned to lesser beings, apparently of the angelic order, whose destiny it was to preside over races of living creatures. It was their task to cause these to be embodied in external forms, which were thus vivified from within, the "genius" of the race presiding over the structures under its control—*verb. sap.*

Edward Carpenter, commenting upon these ideas in his *Art of Creation* (p. 129) writes as follows:

> "In the language of modern Science, using the term "Heredity" to cover much the same ground as "the genius of the race-god," we should say that while the ideas (say of melody and of flight in the case of birds) are the vivifying impulses of any class of creatures, the particular forms (as of songs and of wings) are a matter of slowly growing heredity and the tradition of the race."

And again—

> "These external forms built up in any race for the manifestation or expression of Ideas are riveted and emphasized by Heredity (or by the hammering of the race-god through the centuries). *Ibid.*

There is nothing inherently improbable in the existence of some such living, racial reservoir of life-force, ensouling great or small aggregations of units, and whose adaptations to environment bear fruit in reciprocal inner growth.

The organized groups of microscopic lives functioning in the physical body provide an analogy (though one which should not be stretched too far). Medical students of the present day realise that they are studying living anatomy. The human organism is actually built up of aggregations of cell-communities, living according to rule, and adapting themselves to circumstances. Osteoblasts, for example, build or unbuild according to the stresses to which they are subjected. The component cells are independent life-entities; yet their collective activity (subdivided according to the needs of special organs) is that of sub-conscious mind.

Samuel Butler quaintly opined that at some future stage of super-life consciousness, we may find ourselves in a position analogous to that of the myriad cells evolving in our own bodies!

Logically, one would expect to find directive influence of the group-soul order initiated in the mineral kingdom. One might even postulate the existence of an overshadowing form of causal consciousness during the vast primal period which preceded the hardening of the earth's crust a thousand million years ago.

The inner urge of the mineral law of growth ultimately brought about such invaluable adaptations as the Law of Definite Proportion (to which there is no exception). Built up through long aeons by the gradual acquirement of qualities like precision and accuracy, stability and permanence in the differentiated group-souls and elements, high development was attained in the marvellous geometrical figures of crystals. Here we can see an ordered plan at work; particular kinds of crystals will invariably be formed in certain solutions. Edison used to say that it is not impossible that "life-entities" are at work in the mineral and plant as well as in the animal world. Sir J. C. Bose's latest discoveries in plant physiology show how closely the life-mechanism of plants resembles that of the animal. He all but makes plants talk!

The sudden appearance in the world of flowering plants is a great puzzle in the record of evolution. (It must be remembered that we are dealing with vast periods of time.) The earlier forms amongst the Palaeozoic ferns evolved slowly; group-soul differentiation was induced by the gradually increasing response in plants to the impacts of rain and wind, and to the changes from sunlight to darkness. The Cycads, Horse-tails, etc., led the way to the development of Angiosperms. Symbiotic co-operation with insects must have given much additional impetus to the evolution of life and form, until it attained its culmination in our present 103,000 species of flowering plants. Geologists claim at least a hundred million years to account for all these changes.

It seems but a short step from the new concept of a very highly differentiated nervous system in plants into the animal kingdom. In fact Sir Jagadis Bose has likened the "heart" of a plant to the elongated heart of some of the lower types of animals: notably to that of the earthworm, in which peristaltic action propels the circulating fluid. Plant and earth-worm die, each returning to its appropriate sub-division within the larger group-soul; whence they will return in due course, each according to its kind.

The two sides in evolution interact and keep pace with one another—interlocked yet separate. The essential point to bear in mind, is that the law of growth is initiated on the other side of the veil; hence, its recondite origin precludes any dogmatism regarding its nature or inception. An analogy drawn from the protozoic cells, and the 'immortality' accorded them, might incline one to conceive the possibility of a sub-atomic counterpart—or other vibrational medium —of a continuous and interpenetrating nature. Thus, the descending life-rays would make a persisting link between the presiding race-consciousness and the generations under its sway, through some kind of germinal continuity.

Let us now postulate that the evolving group-life consciousness retains all the capacities engendered by experiences in the mineral and vegetable kingdom and has become fit to express these hidden powers more fully. The more complex forms and greater range of activity in the animal kingom will afford opportunities for further specialization. Differentiation proceeds apace through the divisions represented in physical form by genera, species, and families. Instinct can be given a rational and less obscure explanation; it is the innate memory of past physical happenings stored up in the group-soul.

In the case of mammals repeated sub-division through specialization is likely to cause smaller and smaller groups to appear on physical and super-physical levels, more especially in domesticated creatures, such as the dog and cat. The latter has more convolutions in its brain than any other animal and often exhibits almost human traits. It deserves the seat of honour at the head of Felidae. It surpasses the King of Beasts, because mentality *per se* appertains to a higher stage than the more primitive characteristics of a wild animal. Lions, by the way, are fond of associating in groups.

The domesticated dog evidently stands at the head of the Canidae. Differentiation, produced by contact with civilization, has converged upon dogs to a degree which makes individualization quite possible in the case of the most advanced specimens, especially where there is great affection for a master (of course, this applies equally to pet cats).

The line represented by the extinct mammoth gives us the highly civilized Indian elephant. The horse is another culminating type of an ancient race. Amongst ruminants, the domesticated goat may possibly deserve first place, having a good deal of intellectual and emotional development Some monkeys and all anthropoids are easily stimulated by association with the human race. Sympathetic treatment in favourable environment can hasten their evolution to a point which brings individualization appreciably nearer, when the swaddling bands of the group-soul can be transcended and finally cast off. It is man's privilege and duty to assist their progress towards this evolutionary goal by treating animals with understanding and kindness. Seen in this light, cruelty appears to be a crime against the group-soul, because of the retarding influence it must inevitably exert upon it. Protracted cruelty in the course of centuries tends, not only to arouse, but to perpetuate feelings of instinctive fear and distrust of man in the descendants of all the ill-treated members of the group. It obstructs and hinders their inner growth and general advancement and is altogether inexcusable, even under the specious cloak of custom!

To return to the thought which inspired this inquiry: how are we to reconcile the human attributes of our pets—especially dogs and cats—with their structural position upon the evolutionary ladder? Surely all this emotional and mental advance cannot be comparatively wasted? To admit the law of inner growth is to find the evolutionary factor on the life-side which will eventually bring about transition (for dog and cat, as well as ape) into the appropriate vehicle for an individual human soul. Presumably nothing exists in the organic kingdoms of nature primarily or solely for men's use but in order to evolve towards that "far-off divine event towards which the whole creation moves." If admission into the human kingdom is a remote possibility for animals, what a responsibility is ours!

One of the Persian poets, Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, epitomises the cyclic sweep of evolution thus :

> "I died from the mineral and became a plant;
> I died from the plant and re-appeared in an animal;
> I died from the animal and became a man;
> Wherefore then should I fear?
> When did I grow less by dying?" *Mesnavi* IV.

Walt Whitman outlines the scheme in his own way:

> "Afar down I see the huge first nothing,
> I know I was even there,
> I waited unseen and always, and slept
> Through the lethargic mist,
> And took my time, and took no hurt
> From the fetid carbon.
> Long I was hugged close—long and long,
> Immense have been the preparations for me,
> Faithful and friendly the arms that have help'd me."
>
> *Leaves of Grass.*

M. A. ANDERSON

SIVNARAYAN ON SOCIAL LIFE

Society is not wholly unrelated to the State. It is not practicable to prevent their confluence. No form of Government can last except with the consent of at least the acquiescence of the people. The form of the state marks the watershed, as it were, between things, political and social. The distinction between these two orders is not uniform all over the world. Sivnarayan's teachings on social ethics are, in their entirety, strictly applicable to the country of his birth. The spiritual basis of his teachings, previously sketched, needs no re-iteration. The ensuing summary is made from his Bengali publication, entitled "Amrita Sagar."

Woman.

The subjection of woman by man is observable, in different degrees, all the world over. Equal freedom of the sexes is nowhere to be found. Woman suffers to the benefit of none. For the removal of her suffering none strives. Male pride blinds the male eye. Man labours for his own enjoyment in freedom and not for the freedom of man and woman. The truth is undiscerned that none can achieve freedom who works not for the freedom of all. The divine design is clear to all who desire to see it. Let each use the gifts of God to each to promote the well-being of all and blessing will come to all. Obedience to this rule will secure the well-being of man and woman alike. Just men, of heroic nature, who befriend women in fulfilment of that divine design, are truly beloved of God. The disobedient are, and for ever will be, punished by God. Of this doubt there is none. Man degrades woman and she overlords him through sexual attraction. The slave cannot be his master's superior. The woman degraded degrades him the more through her sexual fascination and so the see-saw is uninterruptedly at work. The vision is clear to eyes washed clean of fleshly lust.

If the divine design, expressed in bi-sexual creation, is searched for in the light of the foregoing observations those who value truth will readily perceive that love of freedom alone will set the lover free. Love of freedom lays a constraint on the lover to love freedom, in disregard of the personal specialty of its exhibition. To be free one must work for the freedom of all. To desire freedom for one's self at the cost of freedom of any is unjust tyranny against all, including one's self who is condemned to slavery to the desire to tyrannise over others. Such a one's mind is a slave, devising means for the enslavement of another and so are his hands in working out the means. What is true of the individual is true of the class.

Confining attention to the country of our birth who can deny the unnatural and unnecessary suffering of woman, as daughter, wife and widow? But all lips are closed through false pride. The fool alone can think that in his silence all eyes are closed. The blind in spirit see woman's inferiority to man in God's design. Woman, they think, is created for man and man for himself. Their hearts admit not that each is created for the other and that life is for the well-being of both. If God is obeyed each will be a blessing to the other.

Hidus proclaim by word of mouth that woman represents Mahāsakti, the totality of God's powers and attributes, under many names such as, Kali, Durga, Saraswati, Lakshmi. They represent Him as Jugal-rup, the pair-formed, as Ardhanariswar, the half-woman-man Lord. But their profession of faith is belied by their act. The truly equal-sighted (*samadarsi*) rejoice and grieve in sympathy with all others.

Man and woman are equal inheritors of God's goodness and it is the duty of all to preserve this equality in all things, food, dress, property, marriage, sport, amusement and the rest. What is blameless in him is blameless in her, what is blamable in her is blamable in him. The only instrument to help individuals to perceive and pursue the path of life, in obedience to the divine design, is education and not compulsion. Punishment has its own place in the scheme of education.

Marriage.

Marriage is a human institution of the first magnitude. On it depends present and future lives. If any institution is to accord with God's design, expressed in creation, it is this. That design is to secure to creatures, by their unconstrained joyous movements, the well-being of all, in the world and in Him—in conduct and in faith. Marriage must be so ordered as to promote and not obstruct that end in any individual. Minds, turned away from God, have begotten a multitude of forms of marriage among mankind. But have they or any of them fulfilled the true purpose of marriage? In what form of marriage is married unchastity wholly unknown, even if all other ills be unconsidered? If marriage was faithful to the Divine design whence has arisen the spiritual doctrine that it is the enemy of spiritual life. True marriage is a spiritual vision. It is beyond the region of man's approval or disapproval. It is the complete union of the soul with God. Ineffable joy is its offspring, alive in time and eternity. This apart, how is marriage represented in God? All religions teach God is unsearchable, incomprehensible. Created intelligence, God-ward turned, discerns but forms, perceived by the senses or conceived by the mind and their opposite, transcending both. What object does any sense perceive or the mind conceive as marriage? In God, the incomprehensible, marriage is that union of soul with Him, which is itself an incomprehensible entity. Also, it is nothing, a word without meaning—a figment, a lie, as is the word "nothing." The coming together of two individuals, conscious of each other's life in God, is an inward truth and true marriage, God-appointed.

Its purpose is the fulfilment of the Divine design for the well-being of creatures. The representation of this true inward marriage in external life meets with God's approval as concordant with His design in creation. External marriage alone, by itself, is unchastity, in truth, though blessed by all mankind. Let all men pause and reflect on their sufferings, the result of attempted rebellion against the Divine design for their well-being. Is the endless peace and joy, promised by God through the religions of the world, a heartless lie? Is there no Reliever for men? Search for Him with collected sobriety and He will be found, expressed in His creation and beyond it. In Him every individual,—every speck of creation— is comprehended and yet, He is one, indivisible and independent. Ask of Him forgiveness, seek refuge in Him and find never-ending, boundless joy.

Marriage and Celibacy.

Marriage or celibacy should not proceed from compulsion or for the purpose of self-indulgence. It must originate in the impulse for the fulfilment of the need of existence in accordance with God's design setforth above. All human beings are not created for the perpetuation of the race. In the design of God all seeds do not germinate. Some make food for the living, some fertilise the earth. So are men. All human beings are not born for the preservation of the continuity of the race. As witness infant mortality, sterile marriage and enforced widowhood, believed to be in accordance with the design of God. Voluntary celibacy, as a religious usage, is also held in honour. The married and the unmarried are equal before Him. Let each, who sincerely feels the impulse, touched on above, marry when and in such manner as the other one, with similar impulse, joins in with sincere approval. Let no man stand between them. It is an offence against the Divine design to persuade or pervert anyone to marry who feels the impulse to work out the end of individual existence alone, unmarried. All such are acceptable to God and have been accepted by Him in all ages and everywhere. Blessed are the people who accept the true form of marriage! For them prostitution and illegitimacy will not exist.

Married unchastity deserves punishment, irrespective of the offender's sex. So also connubial neglect or ill treatment. But marriages are terminable by genuine mutual consent or by death of a partner. Successive marriages are not blamable in either sex when untainted by treachery or wrong to others. And it is so in all other cases of marriage.

Religious Profession of Celibacy.

It is open to all men, in every condition of life, to fulfil the God-appointed purpose of life in the world and beyond the world. Faith in Him and promotion of His creatures' good are alone necessary. Blind to this truth, the essence of all religions, men deck themselves out with external marks of various sects, believed to be religious. External marks are of no avail. The body is the external mark, given by God to His creature. For each the body is the mark, suited to the work, divinely prescribed for him. The body and its organs have their appointed work. Every attempt to wrest them away from the purpose of their creation is an act of unsuccessful rebellion against God and a source of suffering. God is equal-sightedness itself. There is no preference in Him for one external form against another. Every external form is acceptable so long as it serves to fulfil the divine purpose of creation, the temporal and spiritual well-being of God's creatures.

A man has only to open his eyes to see *sannyasis* of high repute for holiness, immersed in the enjoyment of the pleasures of life as landholders, traders and masters of shrines and monasteries. Occasions are not rare when they are punished by law as robbers and reprobates. In obedience to the Divine design it is meant for sovereign and subject to combine and send them to their respective homes. Let them be instructed to understand that each will gain the end of existence by taking care of those dependant on him and holding the mind steadfast in God. Those, for any reason, unsuited for such treatment shall be like others, for any cause helpless and homeless, taken into institutions where they can be maintained with the proceeds of their labour. The true *sannyasi* is he who works for the maintenance of his family and dependants and instructs all in the truth. God is his only honour and position, he craves for none other. His heart is guileless. He brings no suffering on himself or another by any device of the world. Looking on all as the representatives of his God and his own soul he rejoices and suffers with all. God rejoices in him and plants him in endless joy.

The mighty of the world, with hearts turned away from God, are unable, through doubt and fear, to strike down the workers of iniquity in the name of God. Opposite is the nature of the upright and wise, the beloved of God. Fearlessly they suppress murder, robbery, lechery and other iniquities, blasphemously practised in the name of God. Their faith is their strength. They never doubt that what hurts His creatures is reprobated by God. Strengthened by faith, in righteous might they must trample down the enemies of mankind or suffer as traitors against God.

Motherhood and Childhood.

All male human beings must show gratitude to God for having relieved them of the burden of motherhood by treating mothers in child-bed, with kindly care. Such a mother, be her position in the world high or low, is entitled to unstinted care as of right. The lying-in room shall not lack in light or air, the bed-cloth shall be dry and clean and the atmosphere fragrant with incense burned and yet free from smoke. Care must be taken that she suffers not from excess of heat or cold. Men and women, not working for mutual well-being, are guilty of ingratitude to God, whence man's sufferings flow.

Children are helpless representatives of God, committed to their parents' care. They are generally to be taught to fulfil God's command, concerning well-being and especially instructed in good-manners and courtesy. Respect for parents and obedience to them shall be so taught that these qualities may be turned God-ward with the growth of life. For the education of children whenever a representation of God is necessary it shall be the light of eye and of mind. Offerings in fire of things, fragrant and sweet, if properly directed, will be a good beginning for social service and true faith in after life. Personal and general cleanliness is an essential element in children's education.

Health, Sickness and Death.

Cleanliness, health and length of life go together. If earth, water and air are not defiled, if all articles of use and the body, within and out, are kept clean, health and long life will be secured to all. Interior uncleanness of the body is a fruitful source of painful, disastrous diseases, shortening life. It is the real poison. The danger to health from unclean surroundings is easily perceived. But the greater danger from uncleanness of the body, within and without, from hurtful food, air and drink and the wrong use of bodily functions, is rarely noticed except by the professional physician. If food, sleep and natural functions are properly regulated health and life, as gifts of God, will know no harm.

The belief that death within enclosed space or in the open air affects the future of the dead is founded on a perverted notion of bondage and liberation. In truth the persistence of desire for sense-life is, according to shastras, true bondage. The opposite liberation. The spot where the body dies, be it regarded holy or unholy or be it enclosed or unenclosed, is unrelated to the future life of the dead man.

All in health and strength owe it to God to tend the dying one with gentle care, to keep him and his surroundings clean, to burn incense near him and above all to try to lead his mind God-ward. It is a grievous sin to drag the dying one, more helpless than a new-born babe. It is brutality and sin to disturb the dying by loud lamentation.

The disposal of the dead is for the benefit of the living and not of the departed soul. Putrefaction of the dead body is of great harm to the living. The soul is unconcerned whether the body is burned or buried in earth or water. The light is unconcerned whether the lamp is of gold or mud. Let the sight of the dead be a reminder of the inevitable end of this life which must be lived in view of its end. No mourning should be observed to the hurt of social service.

Lower Animals.

Let all men pause and reflect, irrespective of race and religion. How you suffer for want of food in hunger, water in thirst, when pierced by even a thorn or worked beyond strength. Consider the suffering from fettered hand and foot or imprisonment in a narrow cell. And yet such is the treatment you accord to inferior animals who are also creatures of God. None even dream of their suffering. O Man, thou art able to speak. To others thou canst express thy suffering. But not so the dumb creature. Its cry none can understand. It is different with God. He knows when the meanest of His creatures suffers. But men kill birds and beasts for mere sport. Many animals, lower in man's sight, are of great service to man. Let all take heed lest by cruelty to dumb creatures they draw down on themselves the just sentence of God.

Animals, placed in forests by the Creator, are free to enjoy such life as God has given them. Man imprisons them or slaughters them for food. If the intelligence, which divides man from beast, is not used for its benefit the separation disappears, leaving man a fellow of the beast.

No animal should be unnecessarily used as food. When necessary it should be killed with the infliction of the least possible amount of pain.

Domestic animals deserve to be cared for well. Let these not suffer from hunger, thirst, overwork or want of rest and sleep. Treat them so that man and animal may equally benefit. Let no animal suffer from man's mere vanity or curiosity and blessing will be on all.

Flower and Fruit.

In the design of God flowers are a source of joy to the beholder by their beauty and of purification to the atmosphere by their fragrance. They are to be picked when really necessary and not even then without grateful acknowledgments to God. Ripe fruit is food for man and animal, to be received with thanks-giving. Unripe fruit is unwholesome generally and incapable of germination. Love of God and His design in creation forbids their wilful destruction or misuse of fruit.

Wealth and Enjoyment.

Money and commodities have God as their ultimate source. As a perpetual reminder of this truth it is right for individuals to keep an account with Him. All possessions should be entered on the credit side of the account and all outgoings, of every kind, debited to Him through the actual recipient. Thus are all possessions dedicated to Him.

All enjoyments, be the mind or the body the instrument, are sanctified by the declared conviction that the object and instrument of enjoyment as also the enjoyer exist contingent on the being and power of God. Thus is gained the freedom of spirit, the final end of existence.

Blame and Praise.

Life is motion. Something is left and something is reached. When the something reached is in the direction of well-being it is progress. True progress combines welfare and well-being. It means the fulfilment of need, not want, in world and in spirit. This is represented in thought and speech as blame and praise. Both are useless, when not hurtful, to the service of true progress. When rightly directed blame is not hatred nor praise pride. What is called good and what is called evil can both be made serviceable to the final end of existence—life in God, joy eternal.

"Sin and sorrow were my friends
  Upon the road I trod.
Who else had me God-ward turned
  Life to have in God?"

MOHINIMOHAN CHATERJI

SOME CENTRAL PROBLEMS OF RIG-VEDIC HISTORY AND VEDIC SCHOLARS

The Rig-Vêda has long been a favourite study of scholar and antiquarians both in the East and in the West. Unfortunately, however, a good deal of confusion and misconception still prevails among Vedic scholars even on som of the central problems of Rig-Vedic History. "It i the boast of inductive philosophy," observed Professor H. H Wilson, long ago, in the preface of his translation of th Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, "that it draws its conclusions from the careful observation and accumulation of facts, before it venture upon speculations. This procedure has not (however) bee observed in the investigation of the mythology and the traditions of the Hindus......and the most erroneous views hav been confidently advanced" on flimsy grounds and inadequate data. And "no nation has, in this respect, been mor unjustly treated," adds Professor Maxmüller (Ancient Sanskri Literature, p. 6), "than the Indian. Not only have genera conclusions been drawn from the most scanty materials, bu the most questionable and spurious authorities have bee employed without the least historical investigation or th exercise of that critical ingenuity which, from its peculia character, Indian Literature requires more than any other." These solemn utterances were penned many decades ago. Bu they have been a cry in the wilderness. In certain fields o literary activities the state of things is, in fact, almost as ba as ever; and the wild utterances and speculations of the Vedi scholars on such important problems, as the Genealogy o King Sudās, the Identity of the 'Five tribes,' so frequentl mentioned in the Rig-Veda, the Object and Destination of th celebrated expedition of the Bharatas under Viśvāmitra, acros the Vipāś and Śutudri, the famous War of the Ten Kings, an the like are instances in point. Neither Yāṣka nor the great commentator Sāyaṇa has thrown any light whatever on many of these problems. And the imagination of the Western Vedic Scholars has, in many cases, simply run amok; and confusion now stands worse confounded.

The Genealogy of King Sudās.

King Sudās, the Vedic Index tells us (Vol. II, p. 454) "is known as Paijavana; and Yāska accordingly calls him son of Pijavana; then Divodāsa must be his grand-father. Or if Divodāsa be his father, Pijavana must be his remote ancestor. But the former alternative is more probable." The above short extract contains *quite as many as three palpable blunders.* In R. V. VII. 18, 22, we are most clearly told that Sudās was the grandson of King Devavān (Devavataḥ naptā), and the son of Pijavana, also known as Divodāsa. The Rik in question describes the munificence of King Sudās, and runs thus:—Devavataḥ naptuḥ............ Sudāsaḥ Paijavanasya dānam. *Here Sudās is clearly described as the son of Pijavana and the grandson of Devavān.* In the 25th Rik of the same hymn, the Maruts have been invoked to serve Sudās "as they had served his father Divodāsa," Divodāsaṃ na pitaraṃ Sudāsaḥ, and to protect "the house of the son of Pijavana," *Paijavanasya ketaṃ.* From this latter Rik it is evident that Divodāsa was only another name of Pijavana, "*Divodāsa iti Pijavanasya eva nāmāntaram,* as Sāyaṇa also clearly points out. The authors of the Vedic Index evidently never came across these significant and important Riks; and hence the blunders.

The Vedic Index further describes Sudās "as a Bharata King of the Tṛtsu family" (Vol. II, p. 5). Having represented Sudās as "a Bharata king," Professor Macdonell has here corrected one of his old blunders.[1] But the correction is only partial; and the Vedic Index is distinctly wrong in describin Sudās as "of the Tṛtsu family." "There can be little doubt, the Vedic Index tells us, in this connection, "that Ludwig' view of the identity of the Bharatas and the Tṛtsus is practically correct............More precisely Oldenberg (in Buddha h took Ludwig's view, p. 405) considers that the Tṛtsus are th Vasiṣṭhas, the family singers of the Bharatas; while Geldne recognises (Vedische Studien, 2, 136, etc.), with perhaps mor probability, in the Tṛtsus the royal family of the Bharata ....Hillebrandt (Vedische Mythologie, I, 111) sees in th connection of the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas a fusion of tw tribes." But this last mentioned view, adds the Vedic Index "is not supported by any evidence beyond the fact tha in his opinion, some such theory is needed to explain Divodāsa's appearing in connection with Bharadvāja family, whil Sudās, his son or perhaps grandson, as connected with th Vasiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitras (Vol. II, p. 95)" In this extrac the Vedic Index has cited four different views bearing on th relation between the Bharatas and the Tṛtsus; and its author seem at a loss to understand which one of them is correct And after a good deal of hesitation and wavering, they have, a last accepted the most erroneous view, and have, with Geldne identified the Tṛtsus with "the royal family of the Bharatas.' The Vedic Index has elsewhere (Vol. I, p. 322) also repeate this blunder, and described the Bharatas as "the subjects o the Tṛtsus." But this is clearly wrong. Viśvāmitra has, i R. V. III. 53, 24, described Sudās and his men as "the son of Bharata," Bharatasya putrāḥ, and in R. V. III, 53, 12 as "the Bharata people," Bhāratam̱ janam̱; and among hi utterances we nowhere meet with any reference to the Tṛtsus This alone clearly suggests that the Tṛtsus were, in al probability, not in any way originally connected with th Bharatas. Subsequently, however, when Vasiṣṭha assume the leadership of the Bharatas, he joined the latter with hi Tṛtsu forces (*cf.* R. V. VII. 33, 6); and Sudās, with the ai of the combined Tṛtsu-Bharata forces, ultimately defeated the 'Five Tribes' who, as we shall see, lived on the banks of the Sarasvati (*vide* R. V. VII. 18, 17, and VI. 61, 12). In this connection, Vasiṣṭha himself clearly tells us (R. V. VII. 83, 6) that when Sudās was hard pressed by the enemies, in the war of the Ten Kings, "*two kinds of people*" invoked Indra and Varuṇa for protection; and they (Indra and Varuṇa) "*saved Sudās, together with the Tṛtsus,*" pra Sudāsaṃ āvataṃ Tṛtsubhiḥ saha. The expression, "you two (O Indra and Varuṇa) *saved Sudās, together with the Tṛtsus,*" is highly significant; and it clearly proves that Sudās was not a Tṛtsu, and that the Tṛtsus were merely his allies. In the expression "*two kinds of people,*" Ubhayāsaḥ, "dviprakārāḥ janāḥ," as Sāyaṇa puts it, we have a still more emphatic declaration of the same fact. "The two kinds of people," referred to here, were, as Sāyaṇa himself points out, Sudās, with his Bharata forces, and "his allies, the Tṛtsus," Sudāḥsango rājā tatsahāyabhutāḥ Tṛtsavaścha evaṃ dviprakārāḥ janāḥ. This Rik, therefore, completely demolishes the myth concocted by Geldner, and uncritically accepted by the authors of the Vedic Index, and their followers. The connection of the Bharatas with the Tṛtsus was clearly "a fusion" between two distinct clans, as was faintly seen by Hillebrandt long ago. *But the Vedic Index has rejected the right track faintly foreshadowed by Hillebrandt, and followed a wrong guide.*

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[1] In the History of Sanskrit Literature the Bharatas were wrongly described as "among the enemies of Sudās," p. 151.

Again, in R. V. VII. 83, 4, Vasiṣṭha has himself clearly described the Tṛtsus as a family of singers or hymn-makers. "In the war (of the Ten Kings)," he tells us here, "you two (O Indra and Varuṇa), heard the invocations of the Tṛtsus, and saved Sudās; and *the ministration of the Tṛtsus bore its fruits,*" satyā Tṛtsunām abhavat purohitiḥ. Here Vasiṣṭha himself clearly tells us that the Tṛtsus were merely related to the Bharatas *as their family singers and allies, and not as their royal family,* as the Vedic Index has wrongly assumed with Geldner. The R. V. VII. 33, 6 also clearly proves this. Here we are clearly told that when Sudās, with his Bharata forces, under the leadership of Viśvāmitra, was surrounded by the enemies in the great War, Vasiṣṭha, with his Tṛtsu forces, joined him, and assumed the leadership of the combined Tṛtsu-Bharata forces. The expression, "Vasiṣṭha became their leader and guide," abhavat cha puraḥ etā Vasiṣṭhaḥ, is highly significant, and clearly proves that the connection of the Bharatas with the Tṛtsus was really a fusion between two different clans.

Moreover, immediately after the death of King Sudās, severe hostilities, we know, broke out between his descendants, the Saudāsas, and the Vasiṣṭhas (*cf.* the Kauṣi. Brāh. IV. 8; the Panchaviṃśa Brāh. IV. 7, 3, VIII. 2, 3, etc. See also the Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 276). The Saudāsas, it appears, wanted to have the Viśvāmitras restored to their lost position of dignity as the family singers of the Bharatas, after the death of Sudās. The Vasiṣṭhas opposed this attempt tooth and nail. And this led to an outbreak of severe hostilities between the Saudāsas and the Vasiṣṭhas. And the very fact that such a conflict was at all possible also clearly proves the utter absurdity of the hypothesis that Sudās and the Saudāsas belonged to the Tṛtsu family.

The Expedition of the Bharatas under Viśvāmitra.

The Vedic Index, like the History of Sanskrit literature, is quite silent on the object and destination of the expedition of the Bharatas, under Viśvāmitra across the Vipāś and the Śutudri. But in R. V. III. 53, 16 we find Viśvāmitra thus praying, "May (the goddess) Sasarpari forthwith procure us, in abundance the treasures (or food) gathered in the land of the 'Five Tribes'; and it is evident from this that the conquest of the 'Five Tribes' was the object of the expedition. In R. V. VI. 61, 12, Sarasvatî has been described as "the cause of the prosperity of the Five Tribes," Panchajātā vardhayantī. It is therefore also clear that the 'Five Tribes' dwelt on the banks of the Sarasvatī. The Bharatas had evidently to cross the rivers Vipāś and Śutudri *from the west.* The Vedic Index, however, tells us that Viśvāmitra, "in his raid for cows," crossed the aforesaid rivers "*from the east*, as Pischel points out, and *not from the west*," as held by Roth, Geldner, and Bloomfield (Vol. II, p. 310). Here also the Vedic Index is distinctly wrong; and so is Pischel. In R. V. VII. 18, 8, we are told that Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu endeavoured to drown Sudās and his Bharata forces (then evidently about to march against the 'Five Tribes') by breaking open the embankment of the Paruṣṇī from behind. It is, therefore, quite clear that on the eve of the outbreak of the War of the Ten Kings, the Bharatas dwelt on the eastern bank of the Paruṣṇī, the Modern Rāvi, and, that, on reaching the rivers Vipāś and Śutudri, crossed them *from the west, and not from the east.* In R. V. VII. 83, 1, we are also clearly told that the expedition of the Bharatas had marched " eastward " Prāchā. Evidently, therefore, here also both the Vedic Index and Pischel are distinctly wrong. *Here also the authors of the Vedic Index have rejected the right track faintly foreshadowed by Roth, Geldner and Bloomfield, and followed a wrong guide.*

The War of the Ten Kings.

But who were the ten kings combined against Sudās in the great War of the Ten Kings? In that Great War, Sudās, we are told (R. V. VII. 82, 1), had to fight "both Aryans and non-Aryans," Dāsā Āryāni cha. The expedition of the Bharatas under Viśvāmitra was, as we have seen, directed against the 'Five Tribes' on the Sarasvatī. But when the Bharatas marched or were about to march towards the Vipāś and the Śutudri, Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu, as just noticed, attempted to drown Sudās and his forces by diverting the waters of the Paruṣṇī. But the attempt failed, and the waters of the Paruṣṇī, we are told, "flowed along its proper channel and not otherwise, and Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, and Druhyu were themselves drowned, with (many of) their children, in their efforts to drown Sudās with his forces," and Anu, with his children or men, alone escaped the common disaster (R. V. VII. 18, 8-12). In this connection the Rig-Veda tells us that "the charger of Sudās reached its destination," and that "Indra subjugated (or destroyed) *the garrulous (or chattering) enemies for the human king Sudās.*" Here Sudās is described as a "human king," and Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu as his *garrulous or chattering enemies.* This clearly proves that the enemies of Sudās referred to above were "other than men," *i.e.*, Non-Aryans. In the Rig-Veda, the non-Aryans, have actually been described as "chatterers," tuviravāḥ, "Vahuśavdāḥ," as Sāyaṇa puts it (R. V. X. 99, 6), and as amānuṣāḥ (VIII. 70, 11; X. 22, 8). Again, in R. V. VIII. 4, 1, Indra is said to be "*despatched by men*" against Anu's son, and against Turvaśa. The expression, "Thou art despatched *by men* against Anu's son and Turvaśa," nṛṣutaḥ asi ānave, asi Turvaśe, is also quite significant. Both Roth and Grassman are, therefore, right in treating the Anus as "*a people foreign to the Aryans*" (*cf.* Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 22). But our contention is that, *not only the Anus, but all the five peoples, described here as the chattering or garrulous enemies of Sudās were non-Aryans.*

It is, therefore, quite clear that Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu, the *chattering enemies* of the *human king* Sudās, were all non-Aryans, and formed the five non-Aryan members of the Coalition of the Ten Kings against Sudās in the great war, and that the 'Five Tribes' on the Sarasvatī, were the remaining five members of the Coalition. *And these latter, as we shall see presently were all Aryans.* And this fully accords with the fact that the Coalition consisted of both Aryans and non-Aryans. The five non-Aryan members of the Coalition alone dwelt on the western bank of the Paruṣṇī, while attempting to drown the Bharatas under Sudās, and were "the western neighbours" of the Bharatas, but not the 'Five Tribes,' as the Vedic Index wrongly tells us (Vol. II, p. 436). These latter lived far away from the Bharatas to their east on the Sarasvati. *It is, therefore, clearly wrong to describe the 'Five Tribes' as "the neighbours" of the Bharatas, and much more as their "western neighbours."*

Professor Macdonell is not, however, prepared to accept the statement that Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu were all non-Aryans. "Even if Vadhrivāchaḥ did mean garrulous," says Professor Macdonell, referring to the present writer's view, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (January, 1921, p. 131), "how could he (Mr. Dutt) possibly prove that these enemies were non-Aryans?......What reason has he to suppose that Śruta does not here mean 'famous,' and Briddha 'old'?......" From what has been stated above the objections contained in the above extract have absolutely no legs to stand upon. The five terms, Śruta, Kavaṣa, Briddha, Druhyu and Anu, are evidently proper names denoting the chattering enemies of King Sudās, who attempted to drown the Bharatas in the waters of the Paruṣṇī. *It is, therefore, most absurd to treat these terms as attributives, as suggested in the above extract.*

The Vedic Index has also committed several other blunders in this connection. Bharadvāja has described the War of the Ten Kings as "the Great War" (R. V. VI. 46, 4, 13). But the Vedic Index describes it as a "battle" which "took place on the Paruṣṇī" (Vol. I, p. 320). The battle on the Paruṣṇī was only one of the many incidents of the War of the Ten Kings; and the main battles of the Campaign,—and at least two such battles are clearly recorded in the Rig-Veda,—were fought in the tract of land between the Śutudri and the Sarasvatī. In one of these battles, the Bharatas, as already noticed, were about to be surrounded by the 'Five Tribes'; and in the second battle Sudās, with the aid of the Tṛtsus, under Vasiṣṭha, inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemies and obtained "immense riches" (R. V. VII. 18, 17), "the treasures gathered in the land of the 'Five Tribes' (R. V. VII. 72, 5), the goal of the expedition of the Bharatas under Viśvāmitra (R. V. III. 53, 16). *It is, therefore, a complete distortion of history to describe the Great War of the Ten Kings as a mere "battle" on the Paruṣṇī.*

"There was another fight," says the Vedic Index, "on the Yamunā with Bheda, the Ajas, Sigrus, and the] Yakṣus"; and "as Yamunā and Paruṣṇī represent the two opposite ends of the territory of the Tṛtsus, it is difficult to see," adds the Vedic Index, "how the Ten Kings could be confederated." But in a matter like this, continues the Vedic Index, "absolute numerical accuracy cannot be insisted on" (Vol. I, p. 321). *This extract also contains at least three palpable blunders.* First, it is clearly wrong to describe the battle, with Bheda and his associates, on the Yamunā, as an incident of the War of the Ten Kings. The Great War ended with the final overthrow of the 'Five Tribes' on or near the Sarasvatī. And the battle, with Bheda and his allies, on the Yamunā, was evidently fought sometime after the termination of the War of the Ten Kings. In R. V. VII. 95, 5, we find Vasiṣṭha soliciting the Sarasvatī to accept his hymns, and expressing a strong desire for residence, with his men, on her banks, adorned with excellent riches, "like sheltered trees." The expression, "we shall dwell on thy banks like sheltered trees," upastheyāma śaraṇaṃ na vṛkṣam, is highly significant. It is evident from this that after the final overthrowal of the 'Five Tribes,' the Tṛtsu-Bharatas settled in their newly-conquered territory. The battle, with Bheda and his allies on the Yamunā, was, therefore, evidently a new conflict with new enemies. And the authors of the Vedic Index have also been obliged to admit this in some other connection. Here the Vedic Index frankly admits that Sudās defeated Bheda and his allies, on the Yamunā, "*apparently in a second battle after the battle of the Ten Kings*" (Vol. II, p. 110). Here is a clear admission that the battle on the Yamunā, with Bheda and his associates, was a new conflict with new enemies sometime after the conclusion of the War of the Ten Kings. Here then are two distinctly contradictory views advanced side by side in the Vedic Index; and of these two statements, the former is clearly wrong. Hopkins has also wrongly described the battle with Bheda, on the Yamunā, as an incident of the War of the Ten Kings. But, it is still more amusing to note that, to get rid of the difficulty such a view involves, Hopkins has held that Yamunā is here only "another name for the Paruṣṇī" (India, Old and New, p. 52). The above extract also contains two other palpable blunders. On the eve of the outbreak of the War of the Ten Kings, the Bharatas lived, as already noticed, on or near the eastern bank of the Paruṣṇī. And it was only on the termination of the Great War that the Bharatas, and not the Tṛtsus, their allies, had their kingdom extended from the Paruṣṇī to the Sarasvatī and its tributaries. It is, *therefore, absurd to hold that even on the eve of the outbreak of the Great War, the Paruṣṇī and the Yamunā formed the two opposite ends of the territory of the invading king.* And lastly, the Tṛtsus joined the Bharatas, under Sudās, merely as their allies, and are everywhere mentioned in the Rig-Veda as such. It is, *therefore, a still graver blunder to describe the Paruṣṇī, and* the Yamunā as "the two opposite ends of the territory of the Tṛtsus."

The Identity of the 'Five Tribes.'

But who were the 'Five Tribes'? The ancient scholars have thrown no light whatever on this knotty problem. The Aitareya Brāh. (III. 31) has taken the expression to mean "gods, men, Gandharvas and Apsarasas, snakes and the Fathers." According to Yāṣka, it means either the four castes, with the Niṣādas as the fifth (Nirukta, III. 8), or the Gandharvas, Fathers, gods, Asuras and Rākṣasas. Sāyaṇa has simply followed Yāska. Occasionally, however, he has taken the expression to denote "five kinds of men" (*cf.* his commentary on R. V. V. 86, 2; VII. 15, 2). The Śatap. Brāh. (XIII, 5, 4, 14) and the Aitareya Brāh. (VIII. 23) have, however, correctly described the 'Five Tribes' as "opposed to the Bharatas." The very fact that the 'Five Tribes' dwelt on the Sarasvatī and that the Bharatas, under Viśvāmitra, marched against them, and ultimately, with the aid of the Tṛtsus, defeated them and captured their treasures clearly proves the absurdity of all the aforesaid meanings, except the last. But the light thrown here is also very in adequate; and one naturally wants to know who they were. Unfortunately the Western Vedic Scholars have also failed lamentably in dealing with this question. Roth took the term to denote "the Aryans, as the middle point, and the people of the north, the east, the west and the south by whom they were surrounded," *i.e.*, all the peoples of the earth; and Geldner and Muir have simply followed suit. "The phrase, *five races*," says Muir, "is a designation of all nations," the Aryans with the nations of the four regions of the world round about them (Sans. Texts, Vol. II, p. 176). Professor Maxmüller, in his "India: what can it teach us," has taken it to mean "Aryans, as the people of five nations." "The conquerors themselves," says Rapson, "are called comprehensively the five peoples" (Ancient India, p. 40). Zimmer has held that the term stands for the Aryans alone, and in particular the Anus, the Druhyus, the Yadus, the Turvaśas, and the Purus, mentioned together in R. V. I. 108, 8. The Vedic Index has uncritically accepted Zimmer's view, although it says in one place "who are meant by the 'Five Tribes' is very uncertain." (See Vol. I, pp. 385, 466-68.) And this is the generally accepted position to-day. Dr. A. C. Das, in his Rig-Vedic India, has, however, identified the 'Five Tribes' with the Anus, the Druhyus, the Turvaśas, the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas (p. 18).

But none of these views is tenable. The 'Five Tribes' as we have seen, dwelt on the Sarasvatī; and the R. V. VI. 11, 4, tells us that the 'Five Tribes' "worshipped Agni with offerings of clarified butter like a human guest." And this explains why Agni is described in the Rig-Veda (IX. 66, 20) as "belonging to the 'Five Tribes,'' pānchajanyaḥ. Again, in R. V. X. 53, 4 and 5 they are described as "partakers of sacrificial food," urjādaḥ, and as "offerers of sacrifices," yajniāsaḥ. In R. V. IX. 14, 2, we are further told that the 'Five Tribes' formed "a confederacy of (five) allied peoples," savandhavaḥ Pachavrātāḥ. Now, it is quite clear from all these that the 'Five Tribes' were a confederacy of five allied Aryan tribes, who, on the eve of the outbreak of the War of the Ten Kings, dwelt on the Sarasvatī, and were subsequently defeated by the Bharatas, another Aryan clan, originally dwelling on the Paruṣṇī, with the aid of the Tṛtsus.

The authors of the Vedic Index have, however, following in the footsteps of Zimmer and Hopkins, identified the 'Five Tribes' with "the Anus, the Druhyus, the Yadus, the Turvaśas and the Purus;" and the only reason the learned scholars have deemed necessary to advance in support of their contention is that these five peoples are "mentioned together in R. V. I. 108, 8" (Vol. I, p. 467). *But the Anus and the Druhyus lived, as we have seen, on the western bank of the Paruṣṇī, and were among the five non-Aryan members of the Coalition* of the Ten Kings. The R. V. X. 62, 10 further tells us, *that the Yadus and the Turvaśas were also non-Aryans*, Dāsā Yadus Turvaśeha. Thus, of the five aforesaid peoples, wrongly identified with the 'Five Tribes,' the Anus, the Druhyus, the Yadus and the Turvaśas were all non-Aryans, and the Purus alone, as we shall see presently, were Aryans, dwelt on the Sarasvatī and belonged to the Panchajana group. Of the former again the Anus and the Druhyus dwelt on the Paruṣṇī, and the Yadus and the Turvaśas probably dwelt originally in the south-western Punjab (R. V. VI. 20, 12). *Evidently therefore it requires the skill of a conjurer to present groups of peoples so widely removed from one another culturally, ethnically and geographically as belonging to one identical group of peoples, having the same culture and same ethnic type, and living side by side as friends and neighbours!* In R. V. IV. 30, 17 we are told that the Yadus and the Turvaśas, though non-Aryans and "unaccustomed to ablutions," asnātārā, were subsequently Aryanised and admitted to the ablutionary rites, apārayat. This fact has not been clearly seen by the Vedic scholers; and hence their confusions.

But is any further specification of the 'Five Tribes' possible?

The 'Five Tribes' as we have seen, were a confederacy of five allied Aryan peoples dwelling on the Sarasvatī. And in R. V. VIII. 21, 18, we actually meet with a distinct reference to a settlement of several allied Aryan kings dwelling on the banks of the Sarasvatī, with Chitra as their head. King Chitra, we are told, "poured his wealth on the dependent kings, on the Sarasvatī, like showers of rains." Chitra it Rājā rājakāḥ it anyake yake Sarasvatim anu: Parjyanyaḥ iva tatanat hi vṛṣtyā sahasram ajutā dadat. This expression is highly significant. In R. V. X. 60, 3-4, we are again told that King Asamati was the Over-lord of the "Five tribes," and King Ikṣāku was their governor, and that King Asamati, "whether with sword in hand or not, had his enemies prostrated before him like buffaloes (before a lion)," and that under him, "the Five Tribes, *were as happy as in heaven*," *divi iva Panchakṛṣtayaḥ.* Again, in R. V. XIII. 5, 38, the 'Five Tribes' are said to be "under the feet of Kaśu, the son of Chedi"; and in Rik 39 of the same hymn, we are further told, "none have followed the path trodden by the

Chedis," Yena ime yanti Chedayaḥ, anyo na it. Now, it is clear from all these that the Chedis were the most powerful member of the Panchajana group, and that not only Kaśu but probably Chitra and Asamati also belonged to the Chedi line of kings. The Ṛṣis of the Kanva family are connected with both Chitra and Kaśu. This also supports our contention. The Ikṣākus, one of whom was the Governor of the 'Five Tribes,' under King Asamati, also belonged to the 'Five Tribes,' and originally lived on the Sarasvati. The R. V. VIII. 19, 36, describes Trasadasyu, a Puru king, as "an Aryan and a protector of the good," Aryaḥ satpatiḥ. In Rik 32 of the same hymn, Agni is again described as "belonging to Trasadasyu" Trāsadasyavaḥ. Agni is also described in the Rig-Veda, as already noticed, as "belonging to the 'Five Tribes'," Pānchajanyaḥ. Vaṣiṣṭha also refers to a Puru defeat by Sudās in R. V. VII. 8, 4. Evidently, therefore, the Purus, with their kings Purukutsa, Trasadasyu and Kuruśravaṇa also belonged to the Panchajana group. Again, the Kāṭhaka Saṁhita (XXI. 10) tells us that Bharadvāja had founded a new kingdom for Pratardana. And we learn from the Kauṣi. Up. (III, 1) that Pratardana was a son of King Divodāsa, Pratardanaḥ Daivadāsiḥ, and, therefore, a brother or half-brother of Sudās. And in R. V. VI. 61, 14, we find Bharadvāja actually soliciting the Sarasvatī to accept his friendship and to grant him and his people a happy residence on her banks. "O Sarasvatī," prays he, "lead us to great prosperity, and do not oppress us with floods; *accept our friendship and residence. May we not go to inferior places from thee.*" The expression, "accept our friendship and residence," Yuṣasva naḥ sakhyāḥ veśyā cha, is quite significant. In Rik. 12 of the same hymn also we find Bharadvāja, as already noticed, praising the Sarasvatī as "the cause of the prosperity of the 'Five Tribes.'" Again, in R. V. VI. 26, 8, we find Bharadvāja claiming Kṣataśrī, the son of Pratardana, as his protegé and patron, and praying for his prosperity and victory in war. In R. V. VI. 20, 1, and 10 we, moreover, find Bharadvāja praying for a heroic and victorious son being born to the Puru King, Purukutsa. Again in R. V. VI, 25, 3, and VI, 75, 19, we find Bharadvāja and his son, Pāyu, describing the enemies, then advancing against the 'Five Tribes,' evidently the Bharatas, under Sudās, as "our relations," Yāmayaḥ, and as "our own," naḥ svaḥ, respectively, and the latter invoking gods to "punish those, who, though relations, are coming to destroy us from a distance" (*cf.* also VI. 5, 4, 19, 12-13). It is clear from all these that the kingdom which Bharadvāja had founded for Pratardana was on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and that Pratardana and the detachment of the Bharatas who had accompanied him, were in alliance with the Purus and other Aryan kings on the Sarasvatī and belonged to the Panchajana group. *And this also explains the supposed "riddle" how Bharadvāja, originally connected with Divodāsa, subsequently appears to be among the 'Five Tribes,' the enemies of Sudās, in the war of the Ten Kings.* Thus the 'Five Tribes' consisted of these peoples:—(1) The Chedis, (2) the Purus, (3) the Ikṣākus, (4) and the detachment of the Bharatas under Pratardana and Kṣataśrī, and (5) lastly probably a fifth Aryan tribe, with Tṛvṛṣṇa and Tryaruṇa as their kings (R. V. V. 27, 1). In Rik 3 of the same hymn we find Atri, though connected with Tryaruṇa, also offering his services to the Puru king Trasadasyu, at the latter's request; and this could not have been possible unless the two kings were allied together.

N. K. DUTT

(*To be continued*)

GAFFUR

A young hawk was hurt by a random shaft and lay prostrate on the dusty road. Its opened beaks implored a few drops of water to quench its dying thirst. The bustling busy traffic took no notice of the bird.

Gaffur, a peasant youth, happened to pass that way. He felt pity, dipped the skirt of his cloth in the adjoining pond and wrung out a few drops of water into the thirsty lips of the dying bird. The bird, for a moment, opened its eyes and casting a longing lingering look at Gaffur closed them.

* * * *

Years roll on. Gaffur is now an old man praying and waiting for the last caravan.

* * * *

One auspicious year yielded rich harvest and Gaffur started on pious pilgrimage for Mecca.

On the way cholera broke out in camps and made Gaffur its first victim. He was left to die forsaken in a dreary desert.

Gaffur began to roll and toss on thorny bed of pain. The horrid desert had not had a drop of water for its unwelcome guest. 'Oh Great Alla, here Thy servant dies forlorn,' cried Gaffur in delirium.

* * * *

A golden vision gleamed upon his sight. Taming the glaring white of the rugged sand-hills of the desert a *Hoorey* with a flagon in hand gingerly touched Gaffur and said—'Friend, drink this water from the Fountain of Life. It is a gift from Alla. Thou too canst die thirsty and unattended. Think of that dying hawk whose beaks you had moistened: Think, too, of its longing look: such deeds of grace cannot escape the eyes of God. The Lord of all this *Dunia* befriends thee. Awake!'—The golden vision melted away.

Gaffur opened his eyes and found himself cosily laid in a saffron bed in the hospitable cottage of a smiling oasis. The long-linked sweetness of the *Ajan* greeted his ears. It brought tears in his eyes and opened the glorious vista of a nearer Paradise.

K. MALLIK

Reviews

Der Jainaismus: H. V. Glasenapp, Berlin, 1925. Alf Haeger 505 pp. 31 pl.

This comprehensive book deals with Jainism in an objective manner. It throws light on its history, its writings and doctrine, on Jain society and Jain cult, and finally discusses the position of Jainism with regard to Hinduism and Buddhism and to the religions outside India. It does so by giving to a vast material the same balance of discrimination which makes the work as scholarly as it is popular. Problems do not seem to arise and the reader will find that all questions he possibly can put are answered definitely and precisely with the help of ample quotations taken from the original sources. For this reason this standard work almost seems beyond reproach, were it not that Jainism, after all, is a religion, that leads to salvation and that we would wish to realize something of the inner religious experience peculiar to it. But this perhaps lies outside the scope of a representation that intends to, and succeeds in, giving a description and dictionary so to say of Jainism as a religious institution with critical accounts of its literature and a narrative of its history.

From earliest mythical ages to Mahavira the history of the Tirthankaras is traced. The spread of the doctrine in Bihar and Orissa up to the great schism is dealt with, after which, at the end of the first century A.D. Digambaras and Svetambaras promulgated their doctrines in Northern India, in Gujarat, in the Deccan and in the South. Especially in the Canarese-speaking countries Jainism elicited great literary and artistic creativeness. Inspite however of this vigorous and effective expansion in the early centuries of the Christian Era Jainism in the later middle ages, more and more got tinctured with Hindu conceptions. Modern Jainism represents the conscious effort to emphasize the Jain tradition in its purity so that it may not be threatened by finally being merged in Hinduism.

The canonic and extra-canonic literature then are discussed.* Both of them are conspicuous by the vast number of subjects they cover in a more or less dogmatic and rigid manner.

The Jain doctrine in its theory of knowledge, in its metaphysics, ethics, cosmology and hagiography are treated exhaustively and with subtlety. Special emphasis is laid on the peculiarly Jain notions such as the conception of karma not as an *adṛishṭam* but as being fine matter (paudgala); the Leshyas, the types of souls, distinguished by their colour according to their moral value, *i.e.*, according to the Karma-matter they are tinctured with, as well as the gunasthanas, the fourteen steps that lead to the annihilation of karma may be mentioned as significantly Jain notions.

A very vivid picture is thrown in the subsequent chapters on the Jain society, on its monasticism as well as on the laity. The control the laity exercised over the monks and nuns, and the responsibility they felt, kept these two bodies in a close and living contact and may be taken as one cause of the duration of the creed in contrast to Buddhism, which so soon disappeared from this country, partly owing to the lacking vital connection between the brethren and the laymen.—The cult of Jainism whether using images or not appears as a modification, as a branch of Hindu cult, yet confession forms a distinguishing feature.

That Jainism in its tendency and to some extent also in reality is a world religion and has its proselytes, in this respect similar to Buddhism, quite different however from Hinduism, is demonstrated lastly.

The book is written with utmost clearness. Ample references accompany the single chapters. Reproductions of Jain architecture, sculpture and painting and photos of monks and nuns increase the interest in the subject.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

Pikocchvāsam: by Satyacharan Sen *alias* Chandicharan Sen, and translated into English and Bengali by the author himself. Published by Sarat Chandra Das from 8/1e Mathuramohan Sen's Fulbagan, Calcutta. pp. 139 + vii. Price not mentioned.

This little volume is a collection of Sanskrit lyrics written by Babu Satya Charan Sen and translated into Bengali as well as English by the author himself for the benefit of the public. The author seems to be highly accomplished in Sanskrit Grammar, Rhetoric and Prosody. Numerous and varied are the notes that have been struck in these small poems; metre and rime, in almost every piece, combine to produce charming and artistic blending of sound and sense. In short, we have every hope that the book will find favour in the cultured circle.

P. S.

Bhagavadajjukiyam—a Sanskrit comedy by Bodhāyana Kavi—with an old Sanskrit Commentary. Edited with critical notes and Introduction by P. Anujan Achan, and published by the Editor from the Paliyam MSS. Library, Jayantamangalam.—with a preface by M. Winternitz. pp. 98+xxviii. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is a small "*prahasana*" in Sanskrit, with a lengthy old Commentary, critically edited, under the guidance of a celebrated Orientalist, Prof. Winternitz. Among the published *prahasanas*, the present volume "occupies a unique position." For it seems to be a *comedy proper*—without the slightest trace of obscenity which is the chief characteristic of many of the other *prahasanas*.

There is no convincing evidence in the play itself as to its age, but the editor has tried to establish in his introduction that the play goes back to a very early age—when Buddhism in India was just beginning to decline. The play seems to share many a feature of the Bhāsa plays of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, but that does not solve the much vexed problem of its age. It contains many remarkable differences from the Nātya Śastra also. The list of *Rupakas* given in the prologue differs from the lists given in other Sanskrit works on dramaturgy. In fact the publication of this new play has given rise to many a new problem and "we have great hopes" (to quote the words of Prof. Winternitz) that the learned editor "will continue to search among the manuscript treasures at his disposal, and will find materials that may in time lead to the solution of problems which are yet unsolved."

The price of the book, in comparison with its size, seems to be a little too heavy. But we think that it will not affect the interested readers much.

P. S.

Krshṇa: a Study in the Theory of Avataras by Bhagavan Das (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). There is no need to introduce the reader to Bhagavan Das. He has already made lasting name for himself as a translator into modern language of the ancient truths. This book is an amplified version of a lecture delivered by him to "the students of a Hostel connected with the Allahabad University" on the Janmāṣṭamī day. Fortunate young men they must have been to hear such a scholar and thinker on such a subject! Clear and poetic in his insight, artistic in his presentation, eloquent in his language and withal deeply philosophical throughout, the author has succeeded remarkably well. Continuing my thought in the review of the book on "Sind and its Sufis," I would most heartily wish all Moslems to read this little book and to ponder over it in the light of *their own* religion. The book is a gem in its way and it should be read when one is in a contemplative mood and desires a couple of hours of quite spiritual exercise. It has enough in it to provide good solid meditation for months afterwards,

I. S. T.

Sketches of Great Truths: by Wayfarer (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar).

This gives in a handy volume the articles that had appeared some couple of years back in Mrs. Besant's paper "New India." They consist of some fifteen essays inspired by a keen appreciation of the difficulties seen in the world around us to-day. The Great War has been fought and "won" by the allies. But is the world any the nearer to peace? Outwardly at any rate there is more of frivolity, more of greed, more of selfishness and hatred than ever before and all the sacrifice of millions of young lives seems to have been in vain. To the man with the ordinary outlook upon life the situation is baffling and hopeless. Not so "the Wayfarer," who tries to go on along the "straight and narrow way," of which all ancient books have spoken. He sees with clear vision the Plan of God in all this tangle, he awaits with serenity the dawn of the coming day. He has already beheld the morning star that heralds the dawn. And in these essays he tries to share his faith and his hopes with his readers. You may call him a dreamer if you like, but you must confess that to dream such dreams is better far than to look on passively at the chaos around us. It is these dreams that point out the way. These dreams come to those whose eyes have caught a glimpse of God's Plan. Let us not forget what Krishna told Arjuna:

यस्यां जाग्रति भूतानि सा निशा पश्यतो मुनेः ।

POST-GRADUATE

The Real and the Unreal. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.)

Four lectures delivered during the Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society in December 1922 are contained in this book. Two of these are by Mrs. Besant, the third by G. S. Arundale and the last by C. Jinarajadaca. All these have world-reputations as speakers and writers. The title of the first two lectures "Your World and Ours" is taken from the answer of a Great Teacher to one who desired to be a disciple. The Teacher said, "You must come from your world into ours." The idea of how these two worlds are different and how with expanding consciousness a soul may pass from one world into the other is elaborated with all the force and skill of Mrs. Besant. The third lecture is called "the Centre and the Circumference" and it carries forward the theme of the first two lectures. The speaker has here striven to carry the Spiritual Impulse of Brotherhood from the centre to the circumference. The last lecture is called the "Vision of God-Man." In the past (the lecturer tells us) there have been faiths which enjoined the worship of God in various aspects. But the keynote of the religion of the future (the new Faith to which so many of us are looking forward) will be the service of God, our Brother-man. This is the ideal of Brotherhood for which the Theosophists have stood. To see God in every one around us even in the poor and the sick (as Ramakrishna Paramahaṁsa taught) that shall be the religion of the future. "So let us pray and work," concludes the lecturer, "for that Day, when the Devas above will work with men below, till not Gods walk with men, but the Gods above walk with the Gods below who are our fellow-men."

POST-GRADUATE

Ourselves

IN MEMORIAM.

So another year has closed upon the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The time for softer tears has come and on the anniversary of his death, the 25th of May, 1926, educated Bengal paid its glowing homage of sorrow and appreciation to the memory of one who sacrificed his time, his energy, his life and his family for the spread of education in Bengal, for the upliftment of the youth of his country in whose glorious future he had an unalterable conviction. Reverential tributes were paid at the Darbhanga Buildings, Calcutta University, where Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's marble bust was profusely decorated with flowers and amid the burning of incense and in the presence of the University Professors, Lecturers and other officials, Sir Nilratan Sircar, his successor in office, bare-footed, approached the bust and paid his homage to the departed soul. Meetings were held at Bhowanipore and the Calcutta University Institute and glowing tributes were paid by leading men and women of all sects of political opinion without any distinction of race, creed or colour. The Corporation of Calcutta owes the special thanks of Bengal, and of the Calcutta University in particular, for the generous gift of a plot of land at Bhowanipore for the erection of a Memorial Hall and a Library in the name of the great departed. The public of Bengal will undoubtedly place under a deep debt of gratitude his bereaved family and his friends, if by voluntary contribution to a national fund, the memorial and the library are created in the near future. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is dead, but his spirit survives and hovers round our activities in the University day and night and leads us amid the encircling gloom and our prayer is

> "Lead, kindly Light, * * *
>
> * * * * *
>
> Lead Thou me on !
> Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
> The distant scene; one step's enough for me.
>
> * * * * *
>
> So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
> Will lead me on,
> O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
> The night is gone:
> And with the morn those Angel faces smile
> Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile."

We trust, however, that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee did not live his life in vain. The true memorial of the departed great, as was pointed out many centuries ago, consists not in marble busts nor in halls raised high, but in the example which is followed by generations yet unborn. And in the meantime

> "Let the sound of those he wrought for,
> And the feet of those he fought for,
> Echo round his bones for ever more."

THE UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION RESULTS.

The most outstanding social event in educated Bengal, as Lord Carmichael once described it, is the publication of the results of the Matriculation Examination. The results of the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examinations are ready and will be published soon. We publish the results here below in a tabular form for the information of our readers :—

Examinations.	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Matriculation ...	58·67	64·7	67·5	81·5	79·09	74·08	77·5	73·8	57·2
I. A. ...	53·05	69·05	63·4	72·5	70·5	63·3	51·9	50·02	51·1
I. Sc. ...	63·9	73·003	70·6	83·7	78·05	73·2	65·2	57·7	56·45

A perusal of the figures will convince them that the University is gradually stiffening up the standard of the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examinations. We do not agree with those of our critics who imagine that a larger percentage of failures will bring greater credit to the University, its constituent Colleges or its affiliated schools. We believe in improved methods of instruction and although it is true that examinations have their repercussions on examinees, we shall be putting the cart before the horse if we merely encourage failures in the University Examinations without offering our scholars sufficient scope for improved methods of instruction. On what lines these improved methods will run and what financial stability will be the foundation for them are questions which we trust are being tackled in all seriousness by the educated public of Bengal and the authorities of the University.

* * *

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law for January, 1926, was 1,056 of whom 486 passed, 439 failed, 1 was expelled and 130 were absent. Of the successful candidates 17 were placed in the First Division and 469 in the Second Division.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination was 682 of whom 343 passed, 224 failed, 1 was expelled and 114 were absent. Of the successful candidates 24 were placed in Class I and 319 in Class II.

The number of candidates registered for the Final Examination in Law was 721 of whom 321 passed, 172 failed, 2 were expelled and 226 were absent. Of the successful candidates 17 were placed in the First Division and 304 in the Second Division.

We have one suggestion to make to the University authorities about the different University Examinations. It is undoubtedly very important to publish and circulate a comparative table showing the number of candidates appearing at different University Examinations and the list of successful candidates therein; but far more important is it for the University to point out to Colleges and Schools under its control, and through them to the individual candidates who are unsuccessful in the different University Examinations, the nature of the improvements required by the University from them. With our large numbers we realise this is a stupendous task, but the task will have to be confronted in a serious spirit and we suggest the appointment by the Syndicate of an Examination Board, one of whose chief duties would be to circularise to the various institutions the reports drawn up by experts about the competence or otherwise of scholars sent up by them for different University Examinations. This problem has been very seriously tackled by the Secondary Board of Education for the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and we shall in a subsequent issue of the *Calcutta Review* publish the report emanating from the Secondary Board of Education of these Provinces and circulated to institutions under its jurisdiction, for improved methods of instruction. Improved methods of instruction automatically lead to improved methods of education.

* * *

OUR SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENTS.

We are glad to publish the appreciations of sound scholarship amongst our tutorial staff for the benefit of a section of the public who seem to imagine that the teachers in the Calcutta University live in a "land of lotus-eaters" in a state of either paralytic dotage or perpetual somnolence. First in point of date, is the appreciation which has been published of the "Political History of Ancient India from the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty" by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury, by the celebrated Swedish scholar Jarl Charpentier of the University of Upsala in the *Le Monde Oriental* :

> Professor Raychaudhuri belongs to a set of young Hindu scholars who, combining the traditional education of a Pandit with a thorough training in English, German or French Universities, have lately been carrying on deep and fruitful researches in the various domains of Indian lore, and more especially perhaps in epigraphy, archæology and history. Owing to the enormous difficulties besetting Hindu chronology and the obscurity that, in consequence thereof, does partly veil nearly every period of the history of India up to the time of the Muhammadan conquests, the results of these researches may often be debatable; but one can only admire the energy and sagacity with which they are carried on, and Europeans, who are *a priori* working under less favourable circumstances, will soon find it a hard job not only to cope with young India in producing such works but even to follow and keep under discussion all the various problems raised in those works.
>
> Professor Raychaudhuri's book on *The Early History of the Vaishnava Sect* (1920)[1] was dedicated to a research of problems that cannot, perhaps, ever be wholly solved, and concerning which opinions may widely differ; but there can be no doubt that it is very valuable to us in Europe that an able native scholar should, from his point of view, give a survey of what materials are available for the older history of the Bhāgavatas. In a series of articles—most of them published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*—Professor Raychaudhuri has discussed, in an able way, the downfall of the Mauryas,[2] the fates of the later Gupta dynasty,[2] the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus, etc. Especially the identification of some words in this very important document with a passage in the Mahābhārata seems to the present writer to be a most happy find.

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[1] Cp. JRAS. 1923, pp. 140 sq.

[2] These papers are reprinted on pp. 183 sqq. and 291 sqq. of the present work.

The *Journal of the Department of Letters* of the Calcutta University has printed, in its Vol. IX, a treatise of Professor Raychaudhuri on the history of India "from the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisāra," which is now reprinted on pp. 1 94 of the present work. Great interest attaches to this attempt to disentangle, from the veil of nearly complete obscurity surrounding it, this oldest period of Indian history which has recently, from a somewhat different point of view, been dealt with in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I.[1] The reviewer does not feel prepared to deny that the Purāṇas, and even the Mahābhārata,[2] contain a good deal of materials that may be used, after a careful sifting, for historical purposes; but he may be allowed to give vent to some doubt whether, according to our methods, we should ever be able to look upon the existence of rulers like Parīkṣit, etc., as being strictly proved. Still more conjectural is the method of computing the dates of these somewhat legendary kings, a method of which the author has given proofs on p. 9 and elsewhere; we may perhaps just as well confess that we are here groping in total darkness and have very slight reasons for expecting that it will ever be cleared up.

The author is generally well read also in literature produced by European authors. On p. 13 we should perhaps have liked to see a reference to Professor LEVI's article in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 99 sqq. Several minor questions—*e g.* concerning the burning of Mithilā, the legendary kings Durmukha, Karāla Vaideha, Daṇḍakya, etc.—have been dealt with in my book *Paccekabuddhageschichten* (Upsala, 1908) and in an article in the VOL. XXVIII, 211 sqq. The date of Pārśva (p. 47) has been discussed, in connection with that of Mahāvīra, in an article in the I.A. XLIII and later on in the CHI. I, 153 sq.; personally I find no difficulty in believing that the date of his death fell some 250 years before that of his successor, *i. e.*, in something like 718 B. C. Concerning the Kambojas the author might perhaps consult an article in the ZII. II, 140 sqq.

Uncertainty and obscurity surely prevails also over great periods of Indian history after the time of Bimbisāra, and the problems connected with nearly every date in the centuries surrounding the beginning of our era are as bewildering as ever. Still some great landmarks already now stand out in the period covering roughly the centuries 300 B. C.—500 A. D., as, *e. g.*, the reign of the great Mauryas, of the Kushāṇas and of the earlier Guptas. Professor Raychaudhuri has, on the whole, been lucky in his dealing with the annals of these dynasties; special stress ought perhaps to be laid on what is mainly his own researches, *viz.*, the chapters dealing with the later Mauryas and Guptas.

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[1] Professor Raychaudhuri had no opportunity, before publishing his book, to study this work. He has later on, reviewed it in the *Calcutta Review*, October-December 1922, pp. 491 sqq.

[2] The case seems to be a different one with Rāmāyaṇa; according to my opinion it contains next to nothing of historical matters.

That the Greek word ʼΑμιτροχατης as a synonym of Bindusāra, should be rendered *Amitraghāta* (cp. p. 155) seems clear not only from the Mahābhāṣya III, 2, 87 but also from the royal title *amitrāṇām hantā* in Ait. Br. VIII, 17. To the literature on the *Sātiyaputra* quoted on p. 173 we should now add Barnett in CHI. I, 599 n. 2 as well as JRAS. 1922, pp. 84 sqq. and 1923, pp. 411 sqq.; 609 sqq. The very intricate problems connected with the inscription of Khāravela have lately been dealt with by Konow, *Acta Orientalia* I, 1 sqq. (1922) in a manner that is, however, in no way conclusive. As for Kṛṣṇa (pp. 312 sq.), the excellent little book of Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, pp. 74 sqq., should be thoroughly consulted.

But these are only details of no importance for the general valuation of the work. Even the student, who on essential points does differ widely from the opinions expressed by Professor Raychaudhuri, must willingly recognize his high merits as a scholar and hope that we may soon be acquainted with some new achievements of his able and industrious pen. The opinions of a Hindu scholar on problems connected with history of his native country must always carry great weight even with those students who feel somewhat struck with the difference between East and West in handling the problems.

The following is a translation of a review of *Prehistoric India* by Mr. Panchanan Mitra, Lecturer, Post-Graduate Department, Calcutta University, published in *L'Anthropologie*, December, 1925 :

Four or five years ago Mr. Panchanan Mitra published two accounts presenting to us a sketch of the pre-history of India. Such as the data at present available permit, however imperfect they might be—and ought to be—those attempts at synthesis appear to me fit to draw and especially engage the attention of the pre-historians of Europe. Accordingly I analysed them at sufficient length (*L'Anthr.*, *XXXII*, p. 122).

The small volume which I hav before me to-day can be regarded as a new edition of those accounts. It deals indeed with the same great questions. It is conceived of the same principal ideas and it reproduces the same general conclusions. But this new edition contains some fresh matter; the exposition is more careful and more methodical. *Prehistoric India* ought to find a place in the library of every Palæ-anthropologist. Prehistorians of the West will find something to learn from Mr. Mitra's work; it will widen their range of vision beyond the familiar horizon; it will compel them to consider aright the new problems, it will help them to come to a wider and, at the same time, a more precise understanding of questions relating to the origins and development of humanity.

* * *

In the January number of the *J. R. A. S.* (London), 1926, appears the following appreciative notice of "Orissa in the Making" by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, Lecturer, Calcutta University, published by the University of Calcutta:

Mr. Bijaychandra Mazumdar's work, to which a foreword is contributed by Sir Edward Gait, is an attempt to trace the history of Orissa from the earliest time with the aid of the materials furnished by epigraphy, literature, religion, ethnology, language, and geography. After emphasizing with justice the original distinction between the ancient Dravidian kingdom of Kalinga along the coast and the rude tribes of Utkalas and Odras in the interior, he endeavours to account for the altered conditions noted by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, and then sketches the fortunes of the chief dynasties, which have borne rule in the country. The Sulikas, who were defeated by the Maukhari Isanavarman about the middle of the sixth century, he locates on the coast not far from Midnapur, and he then surveys the facts known about the Bhanja dynasty and its offshoots. Then comes a study of the important family of Kosala Guptas, whom he regards as the real makers of Orissa and connects with the dynasty descended from Udayana which ruled at Sripura (Sirpur) over Daksina-kosala; and after them come the Gangas of Mukhalingan (1076-1434) and the solar Dynasty of Kapilendra, Purusottama, and Prataparudra (1435-1540), with a final chapter on the later history of the Sambalpur tract.

The work is marked by wide erudition and contains much that is instructive; but the manner of exposition, we must confess, is often rambling, and some of the etymologies do not commend themselves, nor are all the statements correct. When, however, we remember that the author has for many years been completely deprived of his sight, we cannot withhold a tribute of admiration for the extraordinary intellectual energy with which he combats his physical disability.

* * *

We are glad to note that Dr. Abinaschandra Das, Lecturer, Post-graduate Department, Calcutta University, has brought out another book, *Rigvedic Culture.* We publish below a few appreciations of that work amongst the many he has received from the Oriental Scholars.

Professor Dr. L. Berriedale Keith : "I have read it (*Ṛgvedic Culture*) with care, and I think in its greater objectivity it marks a distinct advance on your *Ṛgvedic India.* There is much that is interesting and vivacity lends attraction to the presentation. I again thank you for your interesting and instructive work which is provocative of thought even when, as in the case of the Vedic War-horse, I think your contentions unfounded."

Prof. Dr. Sten Konow of Christiania University : "You will know that I cannot accept your views and interpretations, but I like Indians to stand up for their glorious ancient civilisation, and you have certainly done so with great learning and thorough conviction; and I cordially join with you in admiring the achievements of the ancient Aryans and also, I think, in the belief that Aryan ideals also will be a priceless asset in future."

Prof. Dr. M. Winternitz of Prague University : "I have, of course, not yet been able to read through the volume of more than 550 pages, but I can see that it is full of information about early Vedic Culture, and the result of a great deal of research. I shall have occasion to re-examine your arguments again elsewhere."

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Lit., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University : "I am glad that the book has taken a new line. I myself with my limited knowledge of the subject have never been able to reconcile myself to the idea that the cradle of our race lay outside the boundaries of our own country. It is a great consolation to find that these prejudices of mine have after all some scientific basis. I value your book specially on this account."

Prof. A. Hillebrandt of Breslau University: "Your valuable work on Ṛgvedic Culture. I have much pleasure in reading it, and I am full of admiration of your knowledge of the subject which is an unusually difficult one. As you say, 'truth can only be arrived at, not certainly by stifling any independent opinion, boldly expressed and formulated but by encouraging it and giving it a patient hearing.' The Ṛgveda is full of problems, historical as well as ethnographical, and needs tolerant co-operation of all its interpreters, however different their views may be. I hope, you will forgive my opposing some of your views especially as to the date which you ascribe to culture of the Vedic Aryans, and the identification of the Paṇis with the Punic race. But generally I think that you have earned high merit by the detailed and well-founded description of the life of the early Indians, and by the sound interpretation of many passages hitherto understood in a different way. I only wish, you would have added a list of the verses commented upon by you in an independent manner."

* * *

It may be in the recollection of our readers that two of the gentlemen mentioned above were severely castigated by the *Modern Review* for lack of scholarship. We have no desire whatsoever to recall the bitter controversy which raged round the works of these two gentlemen, but their scholarship is being duly recognised by "scholars of world-repute" who need not belong to the "fraternity" of what an estimable author in the journal called "Byzantine eunuchs."

* * *

DR. S. C. BAGCHI.

Monopoly of all wisdom and virtue is not necessarily claimed by the omnipotent legislator or the omniscient journalist, but finds a niche in quiet and patient judicial memory. Dr. S. C. Bagchi, the Principal of the University Law College, who is sometimes criticised by the "All-Highest" as a Don Quixote on the steps of a professorial chair, has been specially asked to attend the Congress of the Universities of the British Empire by the Secretary. The special occasion for the invitation was a memorandum sent to the Subjects Committee by Dr. Bagchi at the request of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor as Dean of the Faculty of Law. Mr. Alexander Hill, Secretary to the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, says in his letter to the Vice-Chancellor—" Dr. Bagchi's reflections and advice were of material assistance. In accordance with his opinion and other similar views expressed by the Heads of the Law Schools of Canada that it is desirable that a School of Advanced Legal Study be established in London, this subject has been placed on the Agenda paper of the Congress." Dr. Bagchi has been delegated by the Governing Body of the University Law College to attend the Congress in July. His travelling allowance is to be paid out of the chest of the University Law College which made " many a Quintilian stare and gasp."

* * *

PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN.

Prof. Radhakrishnan, King George V Professor of Philosophy, Calcutta University, who has been elected as one of the delegates of the University to the Empire Universities Conference, has sailed for England and his visit to the British Isles and to the United States of America bids fair to be a very warm reproduction of the classical *vini vidi vici.* He has been invited by the University of Oxford to deliver the Upton Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion for the year 1926, a position which was held in previous years by eminent thinkers like Dean Inge, Estlin Carpenter, L. P. Jacks of the Hibbert Journal and Miss Evelyn Underhill. The British Institute of Philosophical Studies has asked him to deliver a course of four lectures in place of Dean Inge who it was originally arranged, should speak at the Institute during the months of May and June. The Professor has also agreed to address the Aristotelian Society of Cambridge and the Institute of Philosophical Studies, London. Across the ocean Prof. Radhakrishnan is going out as the representative of the Calcutta University to attend the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy which is to be held at the Harvard University from September 13 to September 17. The University of Chicago has elected him Haskell Lecturer for the year 1926. In his lectures in America he will deal with ancient Hinduism and modern Philosophical tendencies. He will also deliver a course of lectures to the University of Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Columbia and to the Theological Colleges like the Union Theological Seminar of New York and the Specific School of Religion, California.

* * *

PROF. SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA.

Prof. Surendranath Dasgupta of the Presidency College, Calcutta, also represents this University at Harvard and on his return we shall, no doubt, hear from him a glorious account of his itinerant lectures in America.

* * *

DR. KULESCHANDRA KAR.

We welcome our new Doctor Mr. Kuleschandra Kar, M.Sc., whose thesis having been approved by a Board of Examiners consisting of C. J. Darwin, F.R.S., Mr. R. H. Fowler, F.R.S., and Mr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., has been adopted by the Syndicate and Mr. Kar has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science.

* * *

THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

We publish here below an appeal from the University College, London, for the establishment of a Centenary Fund.

The occasion for the appeal is in order to celebrate the centenary of the foundation of the University College, London. London as the pioneer in the new University movement and the University College as the pioneer of the London movement might have more than a local claim, but it has for ourselves a special claim as London is our lineal ancestor.

Sir,—One hundred years ago the foundation of a University of London was first proposed in a celebrated letter from Thomas Campbell to Henry Brougham, published in *The Times* on February 9, 1825.

To-day we ask the hospitality of the columns of *The Times* for an appeal issued under the patronage of his Royal Highness Prince Arthur of Connaught and the vice-patronage of the Chancellor of the University of London, the Earl of Rosebery, for a sum of £500,000 for University College, London, in preparation for the celebration in 1927 of the centenary of the laying of the foundation-stone of that college. We believe that we may fairly ask for a widespread and generous response, first of all from the citizens of London who have cause to feel pride in the largest and oldest college of the University of London; and then from the citizens of the Empire, who remember that University College was the first of that group of new universities which have now spread, not only through England, but to all parts of the Empire.

No smaller sum than £500,000, will suffice, if the work of University College, London, is to be maintained unimpaired and if its financial position is to be placed on a satisfactory footing. The largest item in the total is £225,000 for endowment of teaching; while other urgent needs are the provision of a great hall, the reconstruction of the libraries and their endowment, the completion of the engineering equipment, and other objects of vital importance.

For a century, this college has pioneered in successive developments of university education, in the provision of such education without limitations of creed, class, or race, in the admission of women to the benefits of a university training, in the foundation of the laboratory teaching of engineering, in the organization of an extensive range of public lectures.

We know that we shall not ask in vain for this sum of £500,000 from those in London and the British Empire who believe in university education and who count it a wise thing for a great nation to invest in men and women by giving them the soundest education which this country can offer. Donations, large or small, can be sent to the Honorary Treasurer of the Centenary Appeal Fund (Sir Robert Kindersley, G.B.E.) at University College, London, from whom the complete appeal document can be obtained.

We are yours truly,

CHELMSFORD, Chairman, University College, London.
E. A. GARDNER, Vice-Chancellor, University of London.
MESTON, Chairman, Appeal Committee.
R. M. KINDERSLEY, Hon. Treasurer, Appeal Committee.
W. SETON, Hon. Secretary, Appeal Committee.
University of London, University College, Gower-street, W.C.I., Oct. 28.

* * *

THE JAGATTARINI GOLD MEDAL.

The Jagattarini Gold Medal founded by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in memory of his mother has been awarded by the University to our distinguished countryman Mr. Amritalal Bose. He requires no introduction whatsoever from us. We trust his story of the development of Indian drama and particularly of Bengali drama over which he continues to exercise his magic spell, in spite of advancing years and increasing family burdens, will evoke deep and abiding interest in our countrymen and our countrywomen. May he live long!

* * *

DR. P. J. BRÜHL.

We have to record with regret the retirement from the active duties of the University of Prof. Paul Brühl. His association with this country dates back to the year 1882 when he took a Professorship at the Rajshahi College. The best period of a very active life Dr. Brühl sacrificed to the Engineering College, Sibpur, as Professor of Physical Science from 1887 to 1912, a period of over a quarter of a century. In October, 1912, Dr. Brühl was appointed Registrar of the

Calcutta University and continued in office for five years. From 1918 up to 1926 Dr. Brühl has been connected with the University College of Science as the University Professor of Botany. His services to the cause of education in this country, and Science in particular, have been long and devoted. Many of his scientific papers have received due approbation in the journals of various learned societies. An all-round man, a scientist of repute and patient, industrious, a teacher of distinction, Dr. Brühl's memories of forty years of incessant educational activity must go to accumulate the stock of knowledge in the world. He is always found working in the Science College Buildings from morn till night. He never spares himself and certainly does not spare his pupils. His researches in the domain of Hyacinths in Bengal are likely to be published very soon and the University authorities, we understand, have arranged for a continuance of his services for a further period of one year on an honorarium of Rs. 250 a month and free quarters at the Palit Buildings. As one of the Joint Editors of our journal, Dr. Brühl's devotion to the *Review* has been great and we trust that he will live long to reap the fruits of his labours in India—and on behalf of Indians.

* * *

Bon Voyage TO MR. SURENDRANATH MALLIK.

We wish a good voyage and safe return home to our Senator Mr. S. N. Mallik who is just going out to accept the onerous duties of a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Though the shades of evening of Mr. Mallik's life are falling thick and fast and though death has recently claimed all his near and dear relations, Mr. Mallik has undertaken the post of a Member of the Secretary of State's Council in order to dedicate the rest of his life to what he conceives to be the good of his country.

We hope Mr. Mallik's presence in the Valhalla of dusky warriors from the so-called Public Services in India will serve to soften the imperialistic rigour of his distinguished chief and we are in hopes that his appointment on the Decennial Statutory Royal Commission will be of lasting benefit to India and her people.

* * *

THE ISLAMIA COLLEGE.

Amidst unprecedented communal tension, the Senate of the Calcutta University at its meeting held in May last, accorded sanction to the establishment of the Islamia College, Bengal. In close proximity to its predecessor in interest, the Islamia College will hold its "hoary head on high" on Wellesley Street from the month of July.

The discussion in the Senate, however, centred round the question of the reservation of all seats in the College for Moslem boys. The College, as we all know, owes its existence to the fostering care of Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Abdur Rahim and the undoubted desire on the part of the Mahomedan community of Bengal to throw off their general backwardness in educational matters and possibly also a desire on the part of their *amicus curae* for a parking off of the two communities and to hold the balance between the two. The Mahomedan point of view was contained in the famous expression of Canning: "They were out to bring a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." The Sanskrit College which lives and thrives and is probably destined to die on state subvention is a purely communal College. Although it was started so far back as the year 1824 when mediaeval communal ideas were obsessing the minds of our early educationists, who had not yet realised the coming divorce of education from religion, it must, exactly a century after, find a double (what the ancient Egyptians used to call the *Ba*) in the exclusively Moslem College in Wellesley Street. It is very difficult in the days of non-denominational Colleges to support the establishment of a new communal institution on principle, but the Senate of the Calcutta University was unable to resist the claims of the College on purely academic grounds. The University was undoubtedly competent to scrutinise the accommodation, the qualifications and the number of members of the teaching staff, its library and its equipments resting upon a solid substructure of stabilised finance. It formed, however, no part of the duty of the Senate of the Calcutta University to insist that the College should not be run purely on communal lines. We know there are Colleges and other institutions in Bengal run on communal lines and with a communal electorate, communal Colleges were not strange phenomena in this land of many regrets. We hope the new College will retain its purely academic character and will not relapse into educational somnambulism propelled by a communal frenzy. Whether a College reserved for a particular community should be maintained out of the State funds or not is a question which, we consider, should be discussed and a verdict thereon reached on the floor of the Bengal Legislative Council.

* * *

THE PROPOSED MATRICULATION REGULATIONS.

It may be within the recollection of our readers that the University, during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, in 1921, formulated a scheme for the introduction of Vocational Training into our Schools, and made definite proposals for making Vernaculars the medium of instruction and examination up to the Matriculation standard. That scheme, which was to have effected a revolution in our educational methods, ideas, and ideals, was pigeon-holed in the Secretariate for three long years, and then the Secretariate woke up one fine morning, and addressed a long letter to the University, demanding certain conditions before the Government was in a position to accord its sanction to the proposed Matriculation Regulations. The Senate of the Calcutta University thereupon appointed a fairly representative Committee, which, after many deliberations, came to certain definite conclusions and after prolonged discussions in the Senate, the Matriculation Regulations were submitted to the Government for sanction. The cry then at once was raised to the tingling stars that the University was taking a retrograde step. The vernacularization of our school curriculum was as offensive as the secularization of the church property, and the Pilgrimage of Grace saw in this a movement for educational reform, a deliberate attempt to undermine the nationalistic aspirations of the Mahomedans and we were told with all pontifical authority and the solemnity of the Goddess Ishtar, that the mother tongue of the large majority of the Mahomedans in Bengal was not Bengali. The bubble was soon exploded, and, on analysis, it was found that, out of 3,000 Matriculation students, who took up the compulsory Vernacular in the last Matriculation Examination, roughly about 350 took up Urdu as their mother tongue. Of these 350, about 150 were trained in Calcutta Madrassah and about 100 in different Islamic cultural centres, such as Chittagong and Dacca, so that there were roughly about 100 scattered students in Bengal, who had Urdu as their mother tongue. We could not ascertain how many of them migrated from different provinces under the inclemency of the weather. We might then have arrived at a true conclusion with regard to the claim of our Mahomedan leaders that Urdu was the mother tongue of by far the vast majority of our Mahomedan examinees.

* * *

We beg to present our readers with the fresh proposals of the Syndicate for changes in the present Regulations for the Matriculation Examination. Some of these changes the Syndicate has been obliged to recommend to the Senate, on the ground that Government was not in a position to accord its sanction to the second scheme, which was forwarded by the Senate of the Calcutta University in 1925. The present scheme differs from the scheme of 1925 in several material particulars. The vocational subjects, which were mentioned under section 9, of the scheme of 1925, have been omitted from the present proposals. Section 9, of the scheme of 1925, was in these words :

> " Candidates for the Matriculation Examination shall produce certificates that they have received training for a specified period according to the prescribed syllabus from approved teachers and at least in one of the following subjects :—
>
> (*a*) Agriculture, (*b*) Gardening, (*c*) Carpentry, (*d*) Smithery, (*e*) Book-keeping, (*f*) Spinning and Weaving, (*g*) Tailoring and Sewing, (*h*) Music, (*i*) Domestic Economy, (*j*) Basket-Making (*k*) Telegraphy, and such other subjects as may from time to time-be prescribed by the Syndicate.

In the present proposal, instructions in all these subjects have been made one of the conditions for the continuance of affiliation of schools, under Chapter XXI, of the University Regulations. This was done at the instance of the Government in the Joint-Conference between the University Representatives and the Government Representatives, because the Government professed to make Vocational Training a serious part of school curriculum. The second fundamental change is in the direction of raising the minimum pass mark in English. Under the scheme of 1925, the Senate thought that 36% should be the minimum pass mark in English. Government wanted to maintain the *status quo ante bellum*, and the Syndicate is recommending 40% as the minimum pass mark in English. Thirdly, two other new subjects have, at the instance of the Government, been inserted in the list of subjects, which a candidate is expected to take up for the

Matriculation Examination. They are Additional Mathematics and Additional English. We think that the duplication of English and the inclusion of Additional Mathematics in the list, at Government suggestion, are retrograde steps. No school will take up subjects like Elementary Science, Hygiene, Botany, and Commercial Geography. They will rather lean towards these two ancient subjects and all initiative which the schools might otherwise have felt towards the introduction of these two useful and novel but expensive subjects have been taken away.

The third change, which has been made, is in favour of what the Government is pleased to call "backward tracts" like Assam, Darjeeling, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. A new proviso has been added, which runs as follows:

> "Provided also that, whenever the school authorities of a school, situate in Assam, or in the district of Darjeeling, or in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, desire that instructions should be given in the Vernacular or in English, the Syndicate shall exempt the candidates from such schools from the operation of the general rule and the Examination shall be conducted in the language of the district or in English, or in the vernacular of the candidate, if he so desires."

We regret that the University should have agreed with the Government, to include the whole of Assam within this category. There are Bengali-speaking tracts like Sylhet and Goalpara, where this rule will operate as a great hardship on Bengali boys. Now that we know for certain there is no immediate likelihood of Sylhet being transferred from the jurisdiction of Assam, we think the Senate should not be cajoled into acceptance of an exception at the instance of the Director of Public Instruction, Assam.

Under the revised proposals, Urdu has been accepted as a Classical Language for candidates, whose vernacular is Bengali. Subjects for the Matriculation Examination have been divided into a major vernacular language and a minor vernacular language. The Minor Vernacular Language, *viz.*, Khasi, Garo, Manipuri, Parbatia, or Nepali, is mainly intended for "hill boys", and as these languages have not attained the same development as have been attained by the major vernacular languages, candidates will be examined only in one paper therein, and they will have to take up an additional subject.

The Government were, however, not content with the revision of the proposals of the University. They suddenly were seized with qualms of conscience and they dreamt of a progressive deterioration in the standard of the knowledge of English amongst our Matriculates, with the result that a Committee was thrust on the University, which must offer a guarantee to the Government as to a *bona fide* attempt being made by the University for the purpose of improving the knowledge of English amongst our boys in school.

We publish here below the report of the mixed Committee appointed by the University:

Teaching of English in the Schools.

We desire to make the following suggestions for safeguarding the present standard of teaching of English, which in the view of some is in danger of being lowered by the proposed introduction of teaching in the Vernacular. Our recommendations are directed not merely to that end, but to raising the standard of the teaching of English. The change from English to the Vernacular as the medium of teaching and examination and the proposed transference of passages for translation from the Vernacular to the English paper, which make English of secondary importance in the school curriculum, make it necessary to emphasise the importance of a knowledge of English for Matriculation candidates. We accordingly recommend (1) That the figure for a pass in English should be raised to 40 per cent. in the aggregate and (2) that the marks for the two English papers should be raised from 200 to 300. We recommend that of these marks 150 should be allotted to texts and 150 to translation, grammar and composition.

We further make the following recommendations:—

(*a*) That every recognised High School with eight classes should have at least three teachers on its staff who have obtained the M.A. Degree in

English or Philosophy or History or Economics and Politics, or the B.A. Degree with Honours in these subjects, or the B.T. Degree or the L.T. Diploma or a Diploma in English to be recognised for this purpose by the University or a certificate in lieu thereof. Schools with 8-11 classes should have at least four teachers and schools with 11-14 classes at least five teachers with such qualifications and so on.

(*b*) That from the 1st January, 1929, no one shall continue or be appointed a teacher of English in any recognised High School unless he or she has one or other of the qualifications set out in (*a*).

(*c*) That the certificate referred to in (*a*) shall be obtained in the following manner:—

(1) In the case of Head Masters of recognised High Schools thay shall be certified by the Syndicate of the University as qualified to teach English upon the recommendation of either of the Directors of Public Instruction of Bengal and Assam.

Head Masters not so certified shall be entitled to be examined in English as hereinafter provided.

(2) In the case of Assistant Head Masters and Assistant Masters at present employed in recognised schools, who have passed the First Arts or the Intermediate Examination of this University or any equivalent examination thereto, they shall be certified by the Syndicate of the University as qualified to teach English upon the recommendation of either of the Directors of Public Instruction of Bengal and Assam. Any Assistant Head Master or Assistant Master not so certified shall be entitled to be examined in English as hereinafter provided. A similar certificate may be granted in special cases to existing teachers in such Schools who have not passed the Intermediate Examination of the University upon the recommendation of either of the Directors of Public Instruction of Bengal and Assam and they shall also be entitled to be examined in English as hereinafter provided if not so certified.

(3) An examination in English shall be held under the orders of either of the Directors of Public Instruction of Bengal and Assam in each division up to end of the year 1928 who shall certify the results of such examinations to the University and the Syndicate shall grant certificates on the results of such examinations. Teachers who fail to pass shall be entitled to sit for a subsequent examination after a period of 12 months.

(4) To assist teachers now in service otherwise unqualified who desire to obtain certificates as to their qualification and capacity to teach English vacation courses in the teaching of English shall be instituted. Such

courses shall be conducted by the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca and by the Training Colleges under their supervision. At the end of each course certificates shall be granted by the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca to those who have passed a test to be hereafter prescribed and such test shall be open to all teachers in recognised schools with or without attendance at a course. Such certificates shall cease to be given after the 1st January, 1929.

In addition to the above we desire to make the following further recommendations :—

(1) That the scheme of the M. A. Examination in English and the B. A. Honours Examination in English should include a test in spoken English.

(2) That in future school appointments persons possessing any of the qualifications set out in (*a*) should be appointed as teachers of English, and be placed on a University Register of qualified teachers of English.

(3) That an extension of Training College facilities is desirable.

(4) That of the special subjects to be taken by a student who enters a Training College English shall be one.

(5) That there should be a revision of the courses of study for all classes in secondary schools with special reference in the higher classes to the following points :

(*a*) A matriculate should on admission to the University be qualified to follow and to take notes of lectures delivered in English.

(*b*) He should be able to read English with facility with the help of a Dictionary.

(*c*) He should be accustomed to the use of works of reference.

(6) That an oral examination in English should form a part of the annual examination of every class.

(7) That each school library should contain some simple English books which students should be encouraged to read and that in addition to the prescribed text books for English in each class all students should be encouraged to read some book or books at home on which they may be asked simple questions at the annual examination.

(8) That the results of the Matriculation Examination should be considered annually with a view to ascertaining the broad lines along which improvement is necessary and practicable and that the conclusions arrived at should be communicated to schools with suggestions as to action. That the agency entrusted with this work should also consider with reference to the Matriculation Examination or independently thereof, the question of

new and improved methods of teaching English and should report thereon periodically to the Syndicate with a view to the issue of Circulars containing suggestions to teachers.

Finally considering, as we do, that the manner in which examinations are conducted reacts on instruction in the schools we recommend that the whole question of the Matriculation Examination in English should be considered by a Committee to be appointed by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate and that those experienced in school teaching should be represented on the Committee.

W. E. GREAVES.
E. F. OATEN.
J. R. CUNNINGHAM.
HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA.
J. R. BANERJEA.
W. E. GRIFFITH.
P. N. BANERJEE.
TASADDUQ AHMED.

10th April, 1926.

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The report has, we understand, with certain modifications by the Syndicate, been forwarded to the Government. We have been, however, told that Mr. Lindsay, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in a letter to the University, has made it abundantly clear that Government cannot accept the report of the Committee, as modified by the Syndicate, as sufficient for safeguarding the teaching of English. The Government is quite welcome to accord its sanction to any scheme of reform, forwarded by the University involving a change in the Regulations, or to turn it down as it pleases, under the Regulations, but Mr. Lindsay must be very very ignorant of the constitutional limitations which have been imposed upon his authority by the Statutes and the Regulations. The Syndicate is entitled to modify the report of any committee, appointed by it, and the analogy of commissions or committees, appointed by the Government, which dangle before Mr. Lindsay day and night does not apply at all to the University. Lord Curzon's Act of 1904 sits on the University like a nightmare it is true, but it has certain redeeming features and one of them is that interference by the Government in the details of the University routine and University Regulations is not permissible under this Statute. Whether Government can or cannot accept the modifications proposed which impair the authority of the Directors of Public Instruction as recommending or examining authorities, is a question for the undoubted decision of the Government; but we might point out here that, under the Regulations, the Director of Public Instruction has absolutely nothing to do with examinations. If the Education Departments are allowed to inspect the Schools in Bengal and Assam, they do it on behalf of and under the authority of the University; and if the University is not prepared to extend the doctrine of no further delegation to a delegated authority, the University is strictly within its constitutional rights.

THE SCHOOL CODE COMMITTEE.

We were not a little amused to read the Administration Report for the year under review issued by the Government of Bengal. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, seems to lament in his Report that nothing has been done to develop or accelerate the speed of reform of Secondary Education in Bengal. The Sadler Commission's Report is in deep slumber; the finances of the province, despite all-round increase in expenditure in the favoured departments of the Government, seem to be dominated by the tentacles of the Meston Award and the University of Calcutta which is supposed to be in charge of the thousand schools under its jurisdiction without funds and without a controlling agency has just formulated a scheme for the governance of the schools in Bengal. The scheme is, at best, a tentative one and it is idle for the framers of the scheme to imagine that the diverse needs of different localities could be satisfied by a stereotyped organisation proposed for the various schools. We publish here below the draft scheme which, we understand, has been circulated to various schools and to the All-Bengal Teachers' Association for eliciting public opinion.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEES OF NON-GOVT. HIGH SCHOOLS.

The Managing Committee.

ELECTORAL ROLL.

1. A Register shall be prepared by the Head Master of every School in consultation with the Managing or Executive Committee and shall be revised annually with such consultation as aforesaid. The Register will be provisionally closed on the 15th of February. It will be open to public inspection from that date and will be finally closed on the last day of February with necessary corrections in each year in which an election to the Committee hereinafter constituted takes place, after the happening of which event the Register will be re-opened.

2. (*i*) All guardians, whose names are entered as such in the admission Register, (*ii*) all members of the teaching staff, (*iii*) founders of a school, and (*iv*) Donors paying a donation of at least Rs. 300 in one sum, or (*v*) an annual subscription of Rs. 25 at least, (*vi*) such benefactors as may from time to time be approved by the Committee shall be entered in the Register.

N. B.—A teacher who is also a guardian shall be entitled to have his name registered but he shall not be eligible for election to the vacancies to be filled up under the provision of clause (*iii*).

3. The body thus formed shall elect from among themselves to the Executive or Managing Committee seven members. Of these three at least shall be guardians, and at least one shall be a donor or benefactor, or founder and, whenever available, one medical practitioner, if there be such in the locality.

4. The members of the teaching staff shall elect two members from amongst themselves to the Executive or Managing Committee.

The Head Master shall be an *ex-officio* member.

4. (*a*) In the case of schools, aided by Government, the constitution of the Committee shall, in accordance with the existing Departmental rules, be subject to the approval of the District Magistrate.

(*b*) The constitution of the Committees of all schools shall be subject to the approval of the Syndicate which retains the power, in special cases, to approve of Committees not constituted in accordance with these rules.

5. The Secretary shall, before the 28th Febuary in the year in which election to the Executive or Managing Committee, takes place, convene a meeting at not less than 7 days' notice of those whose names are borne on the Register mentioned above for the purpose of electing the persons set out in para. 3.

6. The Managing Committee should ordinarily consist of 10 members, as specified above, including the President, Vice-President, if any, and the Secretary of the Executive or Managing Committee who shall be elected by the members of the Committee ordinarily from among themselves.

Six members shall ordinarily form a quorum.

7. Casual vacancies occurring in the course of the year shall be filled up by co-option but the member so co-opted shall represent the interest in respect of which the vacancy occurs and shall hold office only up to the next election. If any member of the Managing Committee ceases at any time to fulfil the qualifications in respect of which he was elected, a vacancy shall be automatically created which shall be filled by co-option as provided in the rules, except in the case of teachers' representatives who shall be elected in a fresh election.

9. The members of the Executive Committee other than the Head Master shall hold office for two years. But such members shall be eligible for re-election.

10. Any member of the Executive or Managing Committee absenting himself from four consecutive meetings shall automatically vacate his membership; the vacancy shall be filled as provided in rule 7.

11. The Executive or Managing Committee shall annually

appoint an Auditor not being a member of the Committee or in its employ, who shall examine the school accounts every year and submit his report to the Committee on or before the 31st March—a copy to be forwarded to the University.

12. A meeting of the Executive or Managing Committee shall be called by the Secretary at least once in every two months. Not less than seven days' notice of the meeting shall ordinarily be given.

13. A special meeting shall be convened by the Secretary within a fortnight when a requisition for such a meeting is made by not less than three members of the Committee. Not less than seven days' notice of the meeting shall ordinarily be given.

14. If on receipt of a requisition signed by not less than three members of the Committee the Secretary fails to convene a special meeting, the matter shall be referred to the President who shall convene the meeting. In the event of the President failing to convene the meeting within 10 days the requisitionists shall have power to convene the meeting.

15. Emergency meetings may be convened by the President if necessary, at not less than twenty-four hours' notice. All resolutions passed at special emergency meetings shall be subject to confirmation at the next Ordinary meeting.

16. All meetings shall be held in the school premises, except in cases as the Committee may decide to the contrary.

17. The notice of each meeting shall set forth the business to be transacted at the meeting and no business other than that so stated shall be transacted except with the consent of three-fourths of the members present.

18. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President will preside and in the absence of the President and the Vice-President, the members present shall elect one of themselves to preside.

19. The President of the meeting shall have a casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote when the votes of the members present are equally divided.

20. The Auditors' annual report on the school accounts

shall be taken into consideration at the first Ordinary meeting following its receipt.

21. Under the direction of the Executive or Managing Committee the Secretary shall carry on correspondence with the proper authorities on behalf of the Committee.

He shall also keep a record of the proceedings of the Committee in a book, kept for the purpose. The record of each meeting shall be confirmed at the subsequent meeting.

22. If the Secretary fails to attend a meeting for more than four months a fresh appointment may be made either permanently or for the period of absence, as the Committee may decide. In the temporary absence of the Secretary, the President may convene a meeting.

23. The Secretary shall be in charge of the invested funds, title-deeds and other legal documents belonging to the school, but all papers relating to the school in the shape of accounts and records shall be available at any time for inspection after due notice by members of the Executive or Managing Committee, or any competent authority. In all Calcutta schools and in all schools in the mofussil with pucca buildings all papers, documents, and accounts shall be kept in the school premises.

24. The Executive or Managing Committee shall have the power of appointing and removing teachers, deciding promotion and increments, granting leave, and free-studentships, ordinarily on the recommendation of the Head Master, managing school funds, framing the Annual Report, dealing with all schemes of developments and such other matters as are brought before them for consideration.

LEAVE.

25. *Casual Leave.*—Casual leave shall not exceed fifteen working days in a year. The Head Master shall be the final authority in the matter of granting casual leave. Casual leave up to seven days at a time may be granted.

26. Casual leave shall not be affixed or prefixed to any vacation.

27. A teacher shall be entitled to full pay during casual leave. A register of casual leave shall be maintained by the Head Master.

28. *Sick Leave.*—Medical leave may be granted to a teacher by the Managing Committee on the production of a medical certificate, or such other evidence as the Committee deem satisfactory on such allowance as the Managing Committee or the Executive Committee shall direct.

29. *Leave with or without Pay.*—A teacher may be granted leave by the Committee with or without pay to the extent of one month for each year of his service.

30. *Special Leave.*—Special leave may be granted by the Managing Committee at their discretion on such terms as they may think fit.

DEFINITION CLAUSE.

A Committee includes both a Managing Committee or an Executive Committee.

APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS.

31. Each teacher shall have an appointment letter. He may be appointed on probation for six months. He shall subsequently enter into a permanent engagement with the Managing Committee. During the first two years of this period the teacher shall not be entitled to resign except on the ground of continued ill-health nor shall the Managing or Executive Committee have the power to dispense with his services except on the grounds of moral or professional misconduct. After the expiry of the second period of 2 years the services of the teacher may be terminated either side by one calendar month's notice on sufficient and satisfactory grounds. Existing teachers who have been in the service of a school for at least a period of two years shall be deemed permanent teachers within the meaning of this rule.

Provided that in the case of a school not enjoying permanent recognition, the appointment letter may contain a provision for the termination of the appointment on recognition being withdrawn.

32. A teacher may be suspended by the Managing Committee on grounds of moral or professional misconduct; but before he is finally dismissed a time should be given to him to appeal to the District Arbitration Committee.

33. *Vacancies.*—Posts carrying a monthly salary of rupees fifty or upwards shall ordinarily be advertised in the newspapers.

HEAD MASTER'S FUNCTIONS.

34. The Head Master shall prepare the annual List of holidays in consultation with the Committee. The number of holidays shall not exceed that sanctioned from time to time by the University. The Head Master in consultation with the Secretary may also grant holidays on special occasions.

35. The conduct of current business of the school such as arrangement of curriculum, classes and time-table examinations, award of class promotions, selection of candidates for the Matriculation Examination and all matters relating to school discipline and teaching shall be left entirely to the Head Master, provided that in all cases of rustication or expulsion, the decision of the Head Master shall require the approval of the Committee. The selection of text-books shall rest with the Head Master whose selection shall require the approval of the Committee. In all matters where the Head Master is overruled by the Committee the decision and the reasons therefor shall be recorded in the proceedings and a copy forwarded forthwith to the local Divisional Inspector who shall without delay enquire into the case and in the event of any action appearing to him to be necessary, he shall report to the University any facts which call for their attention together with his specific recommendations.

N. B.—Any enquiry under the provisions of this clause shall not be conducted by an Officer below the rank of a District Inspector of Schools.

36. The Head Master's opinion shall be recorded in writing in all cases of appointment, promotion and removal of staff under him.

37. There shall be a Council of Teachers in every school, of which all teachers shall be entitled to be members. The Head

Master shall consult the Council in all important matters in which he considers consultation is necessary.

CENTRAL AND DISTRICT ARBITRATION BOARDS.

38. Any teacher, who is dissatisfied with the decision of the Executive or Managing Committee on a question of dismissa discharge or reduction or withholding of salaries, shall be a liberty, on payment of a fee of five rupees, which sha accompany his application, to appeal to the Arbitration Boa mentioned in the succeeding paragraph.

Provided that no appeal shall lie against any action take by the Managing Committee of the school in compliance with t order of the University in the case of Unaided schools and the Director of Public Instruction or the University in t case of Aided schools.

39. There shall be an Arbitration Board in each Distri consisting of 5 members—two of whom shall be teacher one at least being a Head Master, elected by t High School teachers of the district other than those i Government schools, in manner to be prescribed hereafter, local educationist appointed by the Syndicate of the Calcutt University and one nominated by the District Board and th District Inspector of Schools. The Committee shall elect its ow Chairman and the District Inspector, unless elected Chairman shall be the Secretary, unless the Committee otherwise decid and make provision for any necessary expenditure.

40. For the City of Calcutta there shall be an Arbitratio Board consisting of two teachers, one at least being a Hea Master, elected by the High Schools of Calcutta in manner hereinafter prescribed—one member nominated by the Syndicate the University from a college staff, one member nominated by the Syndicate and one Inspector nominated by the Director of Public Instruction. The Board shall elect its own Chairman and the Inspector, nominated by the Director of Public Instruction, unless elected Chairman, shall act as Secretary, unless th Board decide otherwise, and make provision for any necessar expenditure.

41. An appeal shall lie to a Central Board from the decisions

of the Arbitration Boards mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. The Board shall consist of 9 members, of whom three shall be Head Masters of High Schools in or around Calcutta, nominated by the Syndicate of the University and four members nominated by the University (two by the Syndicate and two by the Senate), and two Inspectors of Schools, nominated by the Syndicate with the consent of the Director of Public Instruction.

N.B.—Provided that when any question comes before the Board, affecting a Girl's School, the Board may co-opt the Inspectress of Schools, Presidency or Burdwan Division, or some other lady connected with female education. The Central Board shall appoint its own Chairman and Secretary.

42. The decisions of the various Boards shall be reported to the Syndicate for any necessary action.

43. All appeals to the Central Board shall be accompanied by a fee of Rs. 15, out of which the expenses of the Central Board shall be defrayed.

44. The Central and District Arbitration Boards shall be appointed for 2 years. In the case of any vacancy occurring, it shall be filled according to the method of original appointment and the appointment shall hold good for the unexpired period of two years.

45. Three members shall form a quorum in the case of the District Arbitration Boards and five in the case of the Central Board.

46. Any appeal from the decision of a Managing Committee shall be preferred within one month from the receipt of such decision by the applicant and any appeal to the Central Board shall be preferred within one month from the receipt of such decision of the District Arbitration Boards, by the applicant.

47. In the event of a matter referred to the District Arbitration Boards not being disposed of within 90 days of the date of the application, the person or body aggrieved may refer the matter to the Central Board without further payment of fee, who shall finally dispose of the matter.

W. E. GREAVES
H. E. STAPLETON.
P. N. BANERJEE.

The pivot of the scheme, it appears to us, is the constitution of the Managing Committee and the Arbitration Boards. The interests of the teachers have certainly been attempted to be safeguarded. Constant interference by the governors of the Managing Committees of our High Schools and, in particular, by the Secretaries and consequent insecurity of the tenure and insufficiency of both competency and salary of the members of the teaching staff is the order of the day. The proposals of the School Code Committee while compelling people to conform to a particular type of rules will, we are afraid, invite constant friction between the teaching staff and the managers. We do not agree with those who see in the attempts of our poorly paid, overworked and despised teachers of the High Schools to secure for themselves protection an attempt at educational socialism and of academic trade-unionism. "History, indeed, has a Nemesis for every sin, for an injudicious craving for freedom as well as for untimely genorosity" but self-preservation is neither trade-unionism nor intervention. Whether the elaborate machinery provided for and the complex procedure prescribed will solve the problems or not is a question which future alone will be able to show. We must, however, impress upon the attention of our teachers one important fact ; they must institute a movement of counter-reformation ; they must improve their qualifications, intellectual, moral and physical ; they must not continue to live in a paradise of their own ; they must learn to stand on their own legs and they must not rely upon either the affected affection of the one or the tardy generosity of the other of the contending parties who now are engaged in directing their activities to what is geometrically called, a parallelogram of forces. We do not, however, like the annual elections and the electoral roll. Constant elections lead to incessant agitation and agitation submerges quiet scholarship and leads on to unprofitable litigation in courts of law. We cannot but dissociate ourselves from the view expressed in the draft scheme wherein schools in receipt of grants-in-aid have been left to be governed by the departmental rules. If it is a statutory obligation imposed upon the University to administer the schools under its jurisdiction the University should not be a party to the administration of schools by political methods. Education, we are told, is not politics and yet the rules of the Education Department regarding the distribution of the grants-in-aid invest the District Magistrate with dictatorial powers.

EX-OFFICIO FELLOWS.

From a notification which appears in the Calcutta Gazette we see the Government of Bengal has under Section 5, sub-section 2 of the Act VIII of 1904, recently revised the list of Ex-officio Fellows of the University. Ex-officio Fellows hold practically the same position and enjoy all the privileges of ordinary members of the Senate. Under Section 5, sub-section 2, mentioned above, the Government of Bengal may, by notification published in the local official Gazette, make additions to or alterations in the list of officers contained in the 1st Schedule to the Indian Universities Act of 1904 as amended by Act VII of 1921. When the reformed dispensation was ushered into existence the list of Ex-officio Fellows was revised by the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education and the three Ministers for Education, Agriculture and Industries and Local Self-Government, Bengal, and the Minister for Education, Assam, got themselves substituted for the members of Executive Councils of the Governors of Bengal and Assam. Now during the period of suspension of the reforms in Bengal, the Government of Bengal have thought fit to replace the two Ministers for Agriculture and Industries and Local Self-Government, Bengal, by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, and the Principal, Presidency

College, Bengal. This is a new innovation without a precedent or a parallel even in India. We have deep regard for the academic attainments and the broad sympathie of the present Secretary to the Government of Bengal, M Lindsay, but we see no reason why his mantle should continue to be borne by his successors in interest who may be dominated by administrative exigencies and an anxious desire fo meticulous interference in the internal affairs of the Unive sity and may not have the same family ideals and traditio as that of Mr. Lindsay. An appeal from Philip the Drunk to Philip the Sober, may be a valuable right but Mr. Secretary who, we are told, is the custodian of the Conscience of the Government or the Governor should not on well established legal principles sit in judgment over a decision to which he may be either a reluctant party or to which he must as a member of the body corporate bow down. He must not, then invent the excuse of the eternal conflict between Chancello Jekyll and Hyde.